
Transcultural Amnesia

Mapping Displaced Memories

Amnésia Transcultural

Para uma Cartografia de Memórias Deslocalizadas

EDITORS/
ORGANIZADORES

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Universidade do Minho
Centro de Estudos Humanísticos

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AMNÉSIA TRANSCULTURAL. PARA UMA CARTOGRAFIA
DE MEMÓRIAS DESLOCALIZADAS

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INTRODUCTION

Regarding transcultural mobility, James Clifford stated twenty years ago in *Routes. Travel and Translation in the late Twentieth Century* that in the long run no culture can survive without inter-cultural contacts. Thus, any cultural concept based on fantasized purist visions should be abandoned in favour of seeing cultures as consequences of transitory and complex processes of intermixing and hybridization. With this idea in mind, some members of the research group on Transcultural Studies (NETCult), which is anchored at the Centre for Humanistic Studies of the University of Minho (CEHUM), organized an international conference in April, 2015, at the University of Minho, Braga, Portugal: '*Transcultural Amnesia: Mapping Displaced Memories*' from which stems the present volume.

The main objective of the conference was to contribute to the global mapping of the places of memory marked out by human beings who crossed frontiers, whether coerced or not, in different historic periods, political, social and economic contexts. Their experiences were/are rarely remembered and much less commemorated by local cultures. The involuntary or premeditated areas of forgetting, the strategies and mechanisms of camouflage or obliteration of marks and memories related to transcultural mobility, the places left behind and the memories constructed of these places/cultures by the people that have experienced them or their descendants, were particular topics addressed by the several papers that were presented at the conference, a selection of which is now gathered in this volume.

The reader will find here a selection of papers covering various aspects of the complex relations between (un)forced mobility and (hi)stories of memory and forgetfulness, including the keynote addresses from Miguel Vale de Almeida, "Otherselves", and Elizabeth Russell, "Dubai. From AudaCity to FeliCity?"

The processes of collective and individual memory have long been studied. Miguel Vale de Almeida considers the reverse side of the coin, speculating on “that which remains in the shadow” after a process of selective forgetting. The idea of “other selves” and how one’s own internal selective failure to recall serves to render impossible the realization of alternative identities is highlighted through an examination of gender and sexuality, post-colonial identities and the diaspora/Zionism articulation among Brazilian Jews in Israel.

Gülrenk Hayırcıl Oral looks at the ways the Afro-Turkish population of Anatolia, who first arrived there under the rule of the Ottoman Empire in the fifteenth century, have faced a wiping out of their cultural and historical background throughout the centuries. Oral also focuses on how a new generation is taking every opportunity to restore their cultural heritage in a variety of ways, drawing on the experience of the Afro-Turkish minority living in Izmir and an association working to promote the revival of their cultural memory.

Martina Matozzi proposes a reading of the preface to *Cantos Matutinos* by the Portuguese-born Brazilian poet Francisco Gomes Amorim as an illustrative narrative of emigration from Portugal to Brazil in the nineteenth century. The author proposes a reading of this text that sees it as an original contribution to the discussion of the emigrant experience in the context of colonialism, one that, as she argues, is worth recovering from transcultural amnesia.

António R. Esteves focusses on narratives of migration and diaspora through a discussion of the novels *Árbol de familia* (2010), by the Argentinian writer María Rosa Lojo, and *Nihonjin* (2011), by the Brazilian Oscar Nakasato. Esteves draws parallels between the two different narratives by focussing on the similarities found in the two novels as far as the processes of family memory construction in its relations to collective memory are concerned.

Yvonne Hendrich takes a closer look at the processes of cultural identity construction that can be perceived in communities of second and third generation descendants of Portuguese-born immigrants in Germany. In order to assess the way communities of German-born Portuguese descendants construct their cultural memory, and taking into account the two cultures in which they were raised, Hendrich examines a group of twenty people with these characteristics. Among other conclusions, the study reveals that there is a tendency of these transcultural groups to look at themselves as pertaining to a mixed-cultural background.

Reflections on cultural identity and what constitutes “home” in the context of east-west migration in Europe, specifically emigration from Bulgaria, is addressed by Neli Peycheva. Through analysis of the long-running television series “The Other Bulgaria”, which focused on the lived experiences of voluntary emigrants from that country, an assessment of the strongly embedded links between language and cultural identity is made. The effect of direct contact with the other is seen to alter the aspirations of the emigrants and to affect their cultural identity, placing a version of “home” in the emotional memory of the emigrant rather than fixing it in the geographical space of origin.

Paulo Alexandre e Castro explores the twin realms of fiction and reality by examining the similar stories of Viktor Navorski in the film *The Terminal* and the real life Iranian Merhan Karimi Nasseri. Both were retained in the no-man’s land of an airport when finding themselves stateless through no fault of their own. The juxtaposition of chaos and amnesia is examined in this paper.

Paula Alexandra Guimarães approaches the theme of exile and displacement by looking at the work of a number of English women poets who have gone through the experience of territorial dislocation from the nineteenth century to the twentieth. She makes a connection between gender issues and the experience of exile by looking at the ways women have used “the functional trope of the ‘exile’ (or the ‘migrant’) to inscribe the challenging experience of displacement in the collective memory of female historiography and identity.”

Cleide Antonia Rapucci addresses questions of cultural identity and gender by analysing the novel *Ponciá Vicêncio*, by the black Brazilian writer Conceição Evaristo. She compares the role played by Conceição Evaristo’s writing with that of the American writer Alice Walker, namely in the essay *In Search of our Mothers’ Gardens* (1983). Thus, in this paper with the title “In search of gardens and clay. Creativity and displacement in the African diaspora”, Rapucci argues that Conceição Evaristo’s novel delineates a route back to the ancestry of black female art to which present female artists may turn in order to connect to the past and find their heritage.

In an effort to preserve the memory of two heroic non-combatant World War II figures, Ana Maria Alves considers exile and resistance by describing the deeds, in Vichy France, of the Portuguese diplomat Aristides Sousa Mendes and the young American journalist Varian Fry. These two men have been consecrated in the Jewish collective memory despite their initial censure by the Portuguese and American governments, for reasons

of state. Alves believes that resistance has many forms, however, and that of the unarmed fight to help the forced exile deserves consideration.

“What does it mean to be German today?” asks Dorothea Trotter. She provides several ways to understand contemporary migrant literature and sheds light on the possibilities of identity and integration in contemporary Germany. The language of trauma, migration, and pain in *Der Russe ist einer, der Birken liebt* acts as the vehicle for this.

Ana do Carmo looks at processes of cultural memory formation through the novel *Katzenberge* by German writer Sabrina Janesch. She discusses this novel in the context of the population displacement from the former Polish region of Galicia to Silesia during World War II. She argues that the novel evinces a “locus of latency” within cultural memory by focusing on a repressed memory that erupts after a long period of forgetfulness through a generation that had not lived through the traumatic experience of displacement.

Gintarė Bernotienė focusses on the analysis of the novel *Lithuanians by the Laptev Sea* (1997) by Lithuanian writer Dalia Grinkevičiūtė, which draws on the memories of the mass deportations of Lithuanians to Siberia under the Soviet Union. Moreover, she discusses the implications of the censorship of a novel that was published only 40 years after it was written, stressing how the testimony contained in this novel played a crucial role in the de-sovietisation process when Lithuania was regaining independence.

Dealing with cultural amnesia in a contemporary transcontinental context is the subject of Fernanda Mota Alves’ study of Jonathan Safran Foer’s fictional stories of oblivion and remembering. Overcoming and to some extent expiating the painful inability to communicate in a transcultural environment fraught with devastating destructive events is shown to be possible through fictional discourse.

By asserting the significance of filmic narrative for revealing the sites of self and the other, Luísa Afonso Soares underlines the importance of preserving recollections in the construction of transcultural memories in German film. She uses Wolfgang Welsch’s ideas about Transculturality, Astrid Erll’s concept of Transcultural Memory and David MacDougall’s notion of Transcultural Cinema to examine the metamorphosis of Turkish-German cinema, claiming it has become increasingly transcultural in nature.

The concept of identity based on its complex relations between collective memory and amnesia is examined by a number of authors in this volume, not the least by Elizabeth Russell who analyses the very diverse city of Dubai, where 90% of the population is made up of over eighty different

nationalities. She highlights both the utopian and dystopian aspects resulting from the contact between the multiple cultural identities to be found therein. Leonie Sandercock's vision of a mongrel city is explored in order to disclose the love songs and storylines of this "new world disorder".

The present volume on *Transcultural Amnesia* is a direct result of the aforementioned international conference 'Transcultural Amnesia. Mapping Displaced Memories' and is therefore indebted to all those who presented papers at that event. There are several people to whom we would like to extend special thanks. These include the members of the research group on Transcultural Studies who participated actively in the organization of the conference, namely: Andreia Sarabando, Carlos Pazos, Georgina Abreu, Jaime Costa, Luís Lopes and Maria Manuela Silva. We are also grateful to all the other participants of the conference and especially to the keynote speakers, Miguel Vale de Almeida and Elizabeth Russell (contributors to this volume), Rosa Cabecinhas and the Portuguese writer Isabela Figueiredo.

The conference and its proceedings were made possible by the financial support of the Research Centre for Humanistic Studies, especially through the assistance of its former director Ana Gabriela Macedo and the current director Orlando Grossegeesse, via the Portuguese Science and Technology Funding Agency (FCT).

The editors
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INTRODUÇÃO

Relativamente à mobilidade transcultural, afirmava James Clifford, há vinte anos, em *Routes. Travel and Translation in the late Twentieth Century* que, a longo prazo, nenhuma cultura pode sobreviver sem contactos interculturais. Assim, qualquer conceito cultural baseado em visões puristas e idealizações essencialistas deveria ser abandonado em favor de uma visão das culturas como consequências de processos transitórios e complexos de mistura e hibridização. Com esta ideia em mente, alguns membros do grupo de pesquisa sobre Estudos Transculturais (NETCult), que está ancorado no Centro de Estudos Humanísticos da Universidade do Minho (CEHUM), organizaram, em abril de 2015, uma conferência internacional, na Universidade do Minho, em Braga, com o título: ‘Amnésia Transcultural. Para uma Cartografia de Memórias Deslocalizadas’, a partir da qual surge o presente volume.

O principal objetivo desta conferência foi o de contribuir para uma cartografia global dos lugares de memória marcados pelos seres humanos que, quer forçados, quer por escolha própria, se viram na contingência de ter de atravessar fronteiras, em diferentes períodos históricos, contextos políticos, sociais e económicos, e cujas experiências raramente são/foram recordadas, e muito menos comemoradas, pelas culturas locais. As áreas involuntárias ou premeditadas de esquecimento, as estratégias e mecanismos de camuflagem ou obliteração de marcas e memórias relacionadas com a mobilidade transcultural, os lugares dos quais se partiu e as memórias construídas desses lugares/culturas pelas pessoas que as vivenciaram ou pelos seus descendentes foram tópicos específicos abordados pelas múltiplas comunicações apresentadas na conferência, algumas das quais se apresentam agora em forma de artigos neste volume.

O leitor encontrará aqui uma seleção de trabalhos que cobrem diversos aspetos das complexas relações entre mobilidade (não) forçada e histórias de memória e esquecimento, incluindo as conferências plenárias de Miguel Vale de Almeida, “Otherselves”, e de Elizabeth Russell, “Dubai. From Auda-City to FeliCity?”

Os estudos sobre memória coletiva e individual têm sido levados a cabo já há algum tempo. Miguel Vale de Almeida considera o reverso da moeda, especulando sobre “o que permanece na sombra” após um processo de esquecimento seletivo. Através de uma análise centrada no género e na sexualidade, bem como nas identidades pós-coloniais e na articulação da diáspora sionista entre judeus brasileiros em Israel, o seu artigo destaca a ideia de “*otherselves*” e a forma como a nossa própria incapacidade de seleção interna para nos lembrarmos serve para tornar impossível a construção de identidades alternativas.

Gülrenk Hayırcıl Oral analisa as formas como a população afro-turca da Anatólia, uma diáspora escrava aí chegada sob o domínio do Império Otomano no século XV, se confrontou ao longo dos séculos com a eliminação dos seus antecedentes culturais e históricos. Oral aborda também os modos diversos como uma nova geração de afro-turcos aproveita todas as oportunidades para restaurar o seu património cultural, examinando especificamente a experiência da minoria afro-turca que vive em Esmirna e o trabalho de uma associação que visa promover o ressurgimento da sua memória cultural.

No seu artigo, Martina Matozzi propõe uma leitura do prefácio autobiográfico de *Cantos Matutinos* do poeta brasileiro de origem portuguesa, Francisco Gomes Amorim, como uma narrativa ilustrativa da emigração de Portugal para o Brasil no século XIX. A autora analisa este texto, percebendo nele um contributo original para a discussão da experiência do emigrante no contexto do colonialismo, que, como defende, vale a pena ser recuperada da amnésia transcultural.

António R. Esteves centra a sua análise em narrativas de migração e diáspora através de uma discussão dos romances *Árbol de familia* (2010), da escritora argentina María Rosa Lojo, e *Nihonjin* (2011), do brasileiro Oscar Nakasato, sobre a comunidade de imigrantes japoneses no Brasil. Numa perspetiva comparatista, estabelecem-se paralelos entre as duas narrativas, fazendo incidir a análise nas semelhanças encontradas nos dois romances quanto aos processos de construção da memória familiar nas suas relações com a memória coletiva.

Yvonne Hendrich examina mais de perto os processos de construção da identidade cultural que podem ser percebidos em comunidades de segunda

e terceira geração de descendentes de imigrantes portugueses nascidos na Alemanha. A fim de avaliar a forma como as comunidades de descendentes portugueses de origem alemã constroem a sua memória cultural e, tendo em conta as duas culturas em que foram criadas, Hendrich examina um grupo de vinte pessoas com essas características. Entre outras conclusões, o estudo revela que existe uma tendência para esses grupos transculturais se verem como pertencentes a um contexto cultural misto.

No seu artigo, Neli Peycheva reflete sobre a identidade cultural e como se constitui a ideia de pertença ou “lar” no contexto da migração Leste-Oeste na Europa, especificamente a emigração a partir da Bulgária. Através da análise da série televisiva “The Other Bulgaria”, a qual se centra sobre as experiências vividas de emigrantes voluntários desse país, é feita uma avaliação dos laços muito enraizados entre identidade linguística e cultural. O efeito do contacto direto com o outro é percebido como provocador de uma alteração das aspirações dos emigrantes, afetando a sua identidade cultural, evocando na memória emocional do emigrante uma versão de “lar” ao invés de o fixar no espaço geográfico de origem.

Paulo Alexandre e Castro explora os reinos gémeos da ficção e da realidade examinando as histórias semelhantes de Viktor Navorski no filme *The Terminal* e a vida real da iraniana Merhan Karimi Nasseri. Ambos foram mantidos na terra de ninguém de um aeroporto quando se encontram apátridas por razões que lhes são alheias. A este propósito, examina-se neste artigo a forma como caos e amnésia se justapõem.

No seu contributo, Paula Alexandra Guimarães aborda o tema do exílio e do deslocamento, observando o trabalho de várias poetisas inglesas que passaram pela experiência de deslocamento territorial desde o século XIX até ao século XX. Faz-se aqui uma conexão entre as questões de género e a experiência do exílio, examinando as formas como as mulheres usaram “o tropo funcional do ‘exílio’ (ou do ‘migrante’)” para inscrever a experiência desafiadora do deslocamento na memória coletiva da historiografia e identidade femininas”.

Cleide Antonia Rapucci aborda questões de identidade cultural e de género através da análise do romance *Ponciá Vicêncio*, da escritora brasileira negra Conceição Evaristo. Ela compara o papel desempenhado pela escrita de Conceição Evaristo com a da escritora americana Alice Walker, nomeadamente no ensaio *In Search of our Mothers' Gardens* (1983) [À procura dos jardins das nossas Mães]. Assim, no seu artigo, Rapucci defende que o romance de Conceição Evaristo delineia uma rota que nos leva de volta à ascendência da arte feminina negra para a qual as mulheres con-

temporâneas se podem virar no sentido de se conectarem com o passado e encontrarem a sua herança.

Num esforço para preservar a lembrança de duas figuras heroicas não-combatentes da Segunda Guerra Mundial, Ana Maria Alves considera o exílio e a resistência através da descrição dos feitos do diplomata português Aristides de Sousa Mendes e do jovem jornalista americano Varian Fry, em Vichy. Estes dois homens foram consagrados na memória coletiva judaica, apesar da censura inicial pelos governos português e americano, por razões de estado. Alves, no entanto, acredita que a resistência tem muitas formas e a luta desarmada para ajudar o exilado forçado é uma das que merece consideração.

Ana do Carmo analisa os processos de formação da memória cultural através do romance *Katzenberge*, da escritora alemã Sabrina Janesch. Este romance é discutido no contexto do deslocamento da população da antiga região polaca da Galícia (ou Polónia austríaca) para a Silésia, durante a Segunda Guerra Mundial. A autora deste artigo defende que nele se destaca um “*locus* de latência” da memória cultural, ao concentrar-se numa memória reprimida, a qual entra em erupção, após um longo período de esquecimento, através de uma geração que não viveu a experiência traumática do deslocamento.

O artigo de Gintarė Bernotienė centra-se na análise do romance *Lithuanians by the Laptev Sea* (1997), da escritora lituana Dalia Grinkevičiūtė, o qual se baseia nas lembranças das deportações em massa de lituanos para a Sibéria durante a ocupação soviética. A autora discute as implicações e o impacto da censura num romance que foi publicado apenas 40 anos depois de ter sido escrito, enfatizando a forma como os depoimentos contidos neste romance desempenharam um papel crucial no processo que se seguiu à retirada soviética e à reconquista da independência na Lituânia.

O artigo de Fernanda Mota Alves centra-se sobre a amnésia cultural num contexto histórico transcontinental, como é o atual, através do estudo das narrativas ficcionais de esquecimento e lembrança da autoria de Jonathan Safran Foer. Aqui se tenta mostrar que é possível superar e, em certa medida, expiar a incapacidade dolorosa de se comunicar num ambiente transcultural carregado de eventos destrutivos e devastadores por via do discurso da ficção.

Através da afirmação do significado da narrativa fílmica para revelar os locais situados do “Eu” e do “Outro”, Luísa Afonso Soares sublinha a importância de preservar as lembranças na construção das memórias transculturais através do cinema alemão. A autora usa as ideias de Wolfgang Iser

sobre transculturalidade, a noção de memória transcultural de Astrid Erll e o conceito de cinema transcultural de David MacDougall para examinar a metamorfose do cinema turco-alemão, afirmando que este se tornou cada vez mais transcultural na sua natureza.

Neste volume, vários autores examinam o conceito de identidade baseando-se nas relações complexas entre memória coletiva e amnésia. Esse é também o caso do artigo de Elizabeth Russell, que analisa a cidade muito diversificada de Dubai, onde 90% da população é composta por mais de oitenta nacionalidades diferentes. Russell destaca os aspetos utópicos e distópicos resultantes do contacto entre as múltiplas identidades culturais que aí se podem encontrar. A autora usa na sua análise a visão de uma cidade mestiça, de Leonie Sandercock, para revelar as canções de amor e as histórias desta “nova desordem mundial”.

O presente volume é o resultado direto da já referida conferência internacional com o título *Amnésia Transcultural. Para uma Cartografia de Memórias Deslocalizadas* e, portanto, está em dívida para com todos aqueles que contribuíram com os seu trabalho, quer académico quer de índole logística, para esse evento. Existem várias pessoas a quem gostaríamos de deixar os nossos agradecimentos especiais, nomeadamente, os membros do grupo de pesquisa sobre Estudos Transculturais, que participaram de forma ativa na organização da conferência, a saber: Andreia Sarabando, Carlos Pazos, Georgina Abreu, Jaime Costa, Luís Lopes e Maria Manuela Silva. Também agradecemos a todos os outros participantes da conferência e particularmente aos palestrantes principais, Miguel Vale de Almeida e Elizabeth Russell (colaboradores deste volume), Rosa Cabecinhas e a escritora portuguesa Isabela Figueiredo.

A conferência e este volume foram possíveis graças ao apoio do Centro de Estudos Humanísticos da Universidade do Minho, especialmente, através da sua ex-diretora, Ana Gabriela Macedo, e também do atual diretor, Orlando Grossegese, assim como do financiamento da Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia (FCT).

Os organizadores
Mário Matos
Joanne Paisana
Margarida Esteves Pereira

OTHERSELVES

Miguel Vale de Almeida

Chance dictated that I am writing this piece in Bahia.^[1] Since 1995 I have been coming to Brazil at least twice a year, and in 1997-98 I lived in the Southern part of the state, where I conducted fieldwork with a network of people involved with what they called the Afro-cultural movement. But this is my very first trip as a tourist, escaping from a long winter, setting camp in a *pousada* on the beach of Itapuã, known from the internationalization of Bossa Nova music and Vinicius de Moraes's poetry. It is a strange situation, being a stranger, an *estrangeiro*. Neither the intellectual – or social – stimulation of what has come to be known as 'academic tourism', nor the anthropological "beat" of fieldwork, walking up a steep slope to a favela and the Candomblé terreiro where my research collaborators hang out while strategizing for the recognition of their dignity as Afro-Brazilians. This is something altogether different – but incredibly insightful. Take this: the maid is picking up all the trash (bottles, corks, paper plates, napkins) that litters the lawn around my poolside table. I mention how rude the guests were the previous evening. "The trashcan is right here but they wouldn't bother", she says. I sympathize. Then she adds: "The worst part is that it was the *pousada* owner's private party". She gestures impatience, a hint of rebellion too. Oh, did I mention that she is black? That is, that "black" is the word that locals, including herself, and Portuguese foreigners such as myself, would use to define a certain convergence and incidence of phenotypical traits in her body, also found in all the workers at the *pousada*? And that, conversely, the *pousada*'s owner, as myself and literally all the guests here, bear the dogtag (how appropriate... can't we say humantag?) "white"?

1 Keynote address, "Trancultural Amnesia: Mapping Displaced Memories", International conference, University of Minho, 16-18 April 2015.

Now, I guess you all know the *story*, the *counter-story*, and the *history* around this. The story goes: Brazil was colonized by the Portuguese, who brought African slaves and created a mixed Indian, African, and European society where, in spite of early violence and inequality, a culture of friendly hybridity was created, a sort of positive Other for the U.S. racial formation. This was the narrative that started to consolidate when Brazil became an independent state ruled by the European elite and that was further elaborated until sociologist Gilberto Freyre legitimized it as “science” and both the state apparatus and popular culture established the notion of ‘racial democracy’ and “cordial” social relations. This is actually the product that Brazil sells to the rest of the world, that which motivates so many of the tourists around me to come here.

A counter-story has been elaborated since the 1970s, however, following national and international academic and social movements that would ultimately lead to post-colonialism. It focused on denouncing the ideological nature of the received story or narrative and on highlighting what was being hidden from memory: the catastrophe and violence of slavery, the near-extinction of Indians, the complex relationship between “race” and class and how both end up unmentioned, hidden, and irretrievable for political action. Much of the counter-story has been told by Black activists engaged in Black identity politics, as well as by anthropologists engaged in Indian rights.

But what about History? That is: what if we could, at the same time, acknowledge a different – albeit not exceptional – process of racial and class formation in Brazil, when compared with, say, the U. S., *and* critically analyze the structures and habitus of inequality based on difference? That, I think, is what a critically engaged social science should do. When I was writing my book on my research in Brazil there came a point when I stopped and took a new road. That happened when I realized that so much of what I had seen in the race and class formation and in the narratives of national identity pointed to Portugal in a strangely hidden way. Portugal was mentioned either in the beginning of the narratives, as a country that was itself miscegenated, that blended in the Brazilian reality and thus disappeared early on in the narrative, replaced by Brazil itself; or it was mentioned as the colonialist evil power like, for instance, Britain would be mentioned in another context. History helped me realize how both the story and the counter-story were not quite right. It all started with Lusotropicalism, the theory that none other than Gilberto Freyre himself concocted for the Portuguese dictatorial colonial regime in the 1950s. The idea of Portuguese exception-

alism, that Portugal was not a colonial power like the others but rather a hybridizing civilizational project, became the main ideology of Portuguese late colonialism and, unfortunately, it managed to become a popular representation, very much alive still today. And it coincides tremendously with a similar Brazilian narrative. Both Portugal and Brazil live under conditions of cultural and historical amnesia, on the one hand, and in conditions of cultural and historical hyper-memory, on the other. This specific conjunction of amnesia and memory could be called *anesthesia* – and its outcome is the refusal to acknowledge racism. But ideologies do not survive if they are complete lies. There was something in the peripheral nature – economic, demographic, military, etc. – of Portugal and its colonialism that allowed for those narratives to seem to have a foot on reality. It was not that a “new humanistic, Christian, civilization in the tropics”, as Freyrians would put it, was built in Brazil, or that Portugal managed to invent a new kind of soft and smooth colonialism (an oxymoron, if there is one). It was, rather, that the difficulty in imposing a true process of othering (which can only be done when power relations are very distant and unequal) was tantamount to a difficulty in creating the conditions for empathy, the recognition or imagination of an Otherself.

My concern became the imagination of Portugal today – in the democratic, European Union, post-colonial period. To understand how a narrative of centuries is squeezed together in the collective imagination in order to produce the notion of a humanistic, universalist culture and state that created a miscegenated, hybridized world, where clear racial and class distinctions are not detectable, as opposed to what are seen as cruder colonialisms, racial and class formations. It's an identity without politics, that is, where politics are not supposed to take place – a huge hidden, repressed reality by the national super-ego.

What many of us – social scientists from many disciplines – have been doing has been focused on deconstructing representations of late colonialism, confronting them with facts. Namely, analysing the policies of nationality and citizenship, the situation of immigrant populations (namely from the ex-colonies), the rhetoric of national identity as promoted by the state apparatus and in popular culture, and so on. I won't go into that now. I want to take a different, new road. To go further back than late colonialism and even before early colonialism or colonization (Brazil) or even the (commercial) expansion and “discoveries”. I want to bring you the two most repressed memories in the national imagination and the state apparatus' narratives: Berbers/Arabs/Muslims, and Jews.

Curiously, Freyre's master work starts with them. He explains the Portuguese ability to mix by means of the mixed origins of the Portuguese, namely with Arabs and Jews. This is, of course, an empty assumption, since all peoples come from the mixture of previous peoples and all peoples do not exist until they are politically pronounced to exist. The two expulsions – of Arabs/Muslims (in fact, Berbers), and of Jews – took place in two distinct periods. The former as part of the Reconquest (the “re-” prefix would deserve a full essay by itself...) and the foundation of the Portuguese polity as such – that is, as quintessentially non-Arab, non-Muslim, non-North African. The latter took place much later and ‘purified’ – religiously and ethnically – the state at the very moment that the discoveries and the commercial expansion were taking place, setting the stage for the definition of Portugal as a “colonial” polity and cultural formation. So, the historical and cultural experience that set the stage for what later Lusotropicalism would define as inherently Portuguese, was also the experience of extirpation of Judaism from Portugal. Still, our contemporary pundits of Lusophony (a term created in post-colonial Portugal) wouldn't hesitate in paying lip service to the contribution of Jews of Portuguese origin in the places they had to flee to, such as the Netherlands, the Mediterranean world, the US, the Caribbean, and Brazil – and this has recently led to the intensification of the touristic niche of the search for Sephardic roots, and the symbolic historical reparation through granting access to citizenship to descendants of expelled Jews.

Back to Brazil. The maid has finished picking up the litter. She utters some cuss words, she knows I'm sympathetic, she pictures herself reprimanding her boss, she won't, it's a small act of contained resistance. She can't trust me fully, either. I am a guest. I am a tourist. I am white. I am a man. Being Portuguese is, today, irrelevant, I fall into the generic category of *gringo*. She probably imagines that she is, for me, Black, a woman, a maid. We are each other's Other. But we are asymmetrically positioned. Identity and Otherness are misleading concepts, they imply a non-existing symmetry. Different positionings in a conflicting cultural History, and unequal political economies amount not only to Otherness but to Inequality, and that is what I would call the Otherselves – *a rational, critically engaged and ethically/politically willful process of recognition of the Other that, while acknowledging the impossibility of being the Other, still allows for its imagination*. Something that wakes you up from anesthesia, by means of turning amnesia into memory.

If I were in São Paulo or Rio, there would be a possibility that the white people she is serving could be Jewish. They could be some of my research

collaborators and friends in Israel, with whom I have been conducting fieldwork for the past two years. They are the descendants of Ashkenazi Jews who fled Europe in the late 19th century and early 20th century, before the war and the Holocaust. Their grandparents became mostly members of the white middle class in Brazil, albeit with the Difference of ethnicity and religion. They are not the descendants of the Jews expelled from Portugal and Spain, their forefathers' and foremothers' experience of anti-Semitism was a different one. They are fully Brazilian, of course, and true Lusophones, they talk and think and reason and cuss and feel and dream in Portuguese. Differently from other migrant populations – Italians, Japanese and so forth – that made Brazil well beyond the narrative of the three original races, they do not have a 'place of origin' that they would like to return to, to visit, to search for roots in, etc. The old country of Lithuania, Russia, Ukraine, Poland, is simply imagined as Hell. Anti-Semitic hell. But they were, of course, exposed to Zionism, that paramount change – and a controversial, ambivalent one – in the course of the identities of the Jewish Diaspora. Zionism, too, has a story, a counter-story, and a History. And its amnesias, selective memories, and, consequently, its Otherselves.

The story that Zionism tells about itself is that European Jews came to a point, in the late 19th century, where they could no longer bear the burden of anti-Semitism and pogroms and when attempts at integration through secularization proved to be unwelcomed by the nation-states where they lived. Jews were to be defined as a people, a nation and, like other nations they needed a territorial state – and that state was Palestine, wherefrom Jews started their Diaspora and exile. Marked by a strong secular strain and influenced by the contemporary socialist ideologies, pioneerism in Palestine was to be the opportunity to build a new Jew, engaged in hard physical labor and living in egalitarian social institutions. The local Arabs were to be left alone and they were expected to benefit from the civilizational development that European Jews would bring. This is clearly a Western narrative, with elements of Orientalism and, some would say, elements of *mission civilisatrice* and colonialism.

The counter-story has been developed by Palestinians and many critics of the implementation of the state of Israel or of its development, including many Jews, left-wing Zionists and post-Zionists. It highlights the orientalist and colonialist attitude of Zionism, indeed its racist nature (in some versions), and the violent expulsion of Palestinians after the declaration of the state of Israel – seeing there the beginning of a pattern that was to be accentuated with the occupation of the West Bank, the isolation of Gaza,

the apartheid-like inequality of Israeli Arabs regarding citizenship, and the general catastrophe that befell the Palestinian people.

History follows – or should follow – a path of suspicion about Memories and an attention to Amnesias, as well as a concern with processes of othering that turn difference into inequality. Similarly to the case of Portuguese colonialism, contradictory trends can coexist and produce new realities. For instance, Palestinian nationalism and national identity were very much the product of the creation of the state of Israel and of occupation; many of the discursive patterns of Palestinian identity and resistance, and of its conflicting relation with other Arab communities and polities, have a striking similarity to the creation of Zionism in specific sectors of the Jewish Diaspora; and the contradictions within Israeli society – ideological, religious, ethnic – show that there is no consensus regarding the course of History and the course to be taken in solving the conflict and making justice to Palestinian grievances.

But, again, there is no symmetry here. Today, Israel is clearly the power-that-be in the region, and the local stratification is one of West versus East, European versus Arab, Ashkenazi Jewish versus Sephardi and Mizrahi Jewish (Oriental, of Arab cultural background) and Islam. Class and ethnic divisions are so blatant that one of my Brazilian collaborators, when asked if she knew any Israeli Palestinians or West Bank or Gaza Arabs, said “well, what are the chances that I am friends or intimate with Blacks back in Brazil? Very few. Same here with Arabs.” This is how History turns, and roots and routes, and discourses (and realities) of oppression take strange turns: the descendants of persecuted Jews who have fled to Brazil, where they could be free as members of a white middle class that kept Blacks aside, are now in a place of imagined origin (through Zionist discourse) where the freedom and normalcy of being able to be part of a Jewish majority implies the exclusion and oppression of Arabs, not imported to the territory like slaves were in Brazil, but as native people of the land. The Arabs, specifically the Palestinians, were made into the Israeli Jewish Other – not the *goyim* of the European Diasporic experience. But they are hardly the Otherselves. That would imply seeing them as the contemporary version of the European Jews of the past.

Hours have passed. The maid smiles at me. There was a thin, fragile bond made of recognition - better, of acknowledgement. A gesture towards empathy, the truly imagined Otherself, but not empathy. Looking for the Otherself is a *rational, critically engaged and ethically/politically willful process of recognition of the Other that, while acknowledging the impossibility*

of being the Other, still allows for its imagination. I can't help but feel like the liberal, progressive white colleague in a Brazilian university who works in solidarity with the Black movement; or like some of my research collaborators in Israel who consider themselves left-wing Zionist or even anti-Zionists and who engage in political and cultural movements of solidarity with Palestinians; or with myself in Portugal, when I write or lecture critically about post-Lusotropicalism, i.e., the continuation and *aggiornamento*, in post-colonial situation, of the lusotropicalist discourse that goes hand in hand with truly economic, cultural and political apartheid – Blacks are kept in hidden suburban neighborhoods, their experience is not reflected in school books other than as passive recipients of Portuguese “contributions” to the world (a Maussian negative reciprocity, a gift without a counter-gift), and their access to citizenship (and, therefore, work) is hindered by increasing “blood” (i.e., racialized) laws of citizenship and nationality). As for Arabs, they are gone, gone, gone, fetichistically preserved in a list of words and name places of Arabic origin. As for Jews, they are gone too, and only recently has a monument in Lisbon recalled the stench of burning bodies in the big pogrom of 1506, six short years after the “discovery” of Brazil.

I will now enjoy the package of romanticized exoticism that is at the core of tropical tourism, much more so in “African” Bahia, and dive into the warm Atlantic, listening to Bossa Nova, to my own language with a creolized twist, before I travel to Lisbon and then to rainy, Catholic, traditional Braga.

Where I am right here and now... To say this: we all know that collective memory is selective and that it is only possible thanks to a process of selective amnesia. We also know that subaltern identities strive to turn amnesia into memory. When the two meet – in the political-economic and cultural processes of the politics of identity – we have a chance to wake up from anesthesia and to imagine Otherselves and thus make amends not only to historical wrongdoings but also to contemporary inequalities. At the same time, a constant struggle of *otherselfing* helps escape the temptation to tell a story of bad guys and good guys. Everyone is in a position of *othering* that is not *otherselfing*, as – unfortunately – the Israeli case regarding the Arabs demonstrates. Even I and my fellow countrymen and countrywomen here have recently become simply Others, Others that are not Otherselves (and the Other is he or she who can not be conceived as an Otherself): I am talking about how we became *PIGS* in the course of the new cultural narrative that accompanied the current financial and political crisis in Europe.

There is one thing I did right, at least. A gesture, a move, an action. I took the litter that I accumulated on my table while writing this piece and put it in the trashcan. I disposed of my trash. The maid smiles at me. I smile back at her. That's about as far as we can go.

FIVE HUNDRED YEARS OF SILENCE.

AN EXAMPLE OF THE CULTURAL AMNESIA CONCERNING THE AFRO-TURKISH POPULATION OF ANATOLIA

Gülrenk Hayırcıl Oral

0. INTRODUCTION

Every Turkish child is familiar with a nursery rhyme regarding an Arab girl: “Yağmur yağıyor, seller akıyor, Arap kızı camdan bakıyor” [It’s raining, it’s pouring, and an Arab girl is looking out the window]. I myself sang it very often and imagined the Arabian girl as a black child with big round eyes who was looking out a window. I imagined that the girl might be surprised by the rain, since Arabia is a desert. But as an adult, I learned that this innocent song was a nightmare for many black children living in Anatolia. A lot of Afro-Turkish children have traumatic memories regarding that nursery rhyme. Even today black skinned children are unable to defend themselves and are opposed to many insults and bullying through name-calling regarding their skin color at school. And being called “Arab” is still humiliating to Afro-Turkish people. Many of them didn’t go to school on rainy days, so that they wouldn’t have to hear their white schoolmates singing it. It is known that a lot of children even drank bleach to try to lighten the tone of their skin, and others dropped out of school entirely. Although it is widely known that some Arab people are fair-skinned like Europeans, in Ottoman times people of African descent were referred to as “Arabs”, just as their masters had called them. But the current generations prefer to be called Afro-Turkish.

1. SLAVERY IN ANATOLIA^[1]

Africans were brought to Anatolia as slaves when it came under Ottoman rule in the fifteenth century and again in the nineteenth century. There

1 This information is from Mustafa Olpak and can be found at <http://www.afroturc.org/>

are texts dating from the time of the reign of Sultan Osman [1302-1326] that mention slavery, and the records show that slavery increased particularly during the reign of Sultan Orhan [1326-1359]. During Sultan Fatih Mehmet's reign [1451-1481], however, the Ottoman Empire acquired new lands and also developed the tradition of the Harem, which increased demand for slaves causing the growth of the slave market.

Because the Circassian and Georgian sources of slaves dried up, Muslim countries turned to African countries. In particular, the slave trade increased under Hidiy Mehmet Ali Paşa. The occupation of Egypt and Sudan played another important role in African slavery. After the occupation, many slaves who were transported to the Egyptian slave market were brought to Anatolia and Rumelia. The occupation of Tripoli in 1835 further increased the size of the slave market. A turning point occurred in 1869 with the opening of the Suez Canal. The steamship companies which had shipping lines between Yemen and Hejaz transported African slaves from Arabic villages to the center of the empire. The increase in the number of steamships made transport easier between the slave markets in Izmir, Istanbul, Hudeyde Jeddah, Yanbu, Alexandria, Tripoli, and Benghazi. During the Ottoman Empire, a large number of African people were sent from Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Liberia, Kenya, Sudan, and Zanzibar to Dalaman, Çukurova, Menderes, Gediz, and Manavgat. African slaves were used as agricultural laborers, concubines, eunuchs, odalisques, prostitutes, and for other services as well. In the 19th century, most African slave women served in households, while most of the male slaves who worked in the Ottoman Harem were castrated.

Unlike the Atlantic slave trade, Ottomans eventually emancipated their slaves when the Muslim authorities advised their devotees to liberate them. However, there were no laws which stated that slaves had to be freed, so their freedom was completely dependent on their owners' disposition. A large number of slaves were freed in the year 1880. In 1890, 56 guest houses were built to help newly released slaves and to give them vocational training. Some of those married and settled down in the neighborhood of Aydın's state estates.

Other Afro-Turks came to the Aegean region in 1923 through the Greek-Turkish population exchange. The treaty called for a population exchange of the Greek Orthodox citizens of the young Turkish Republic and the Muslim citizens of Greece. People in Ayvalık have said that their ancestors used to speak Greek and that they learned Turkish only later. Many Afro-Turks also came to Anatolia as Muslim pilgrims and brought

African children back with them to prove that they had really gone to Mecca.

In fact, slavery and the slave trade never fully ended during the Ottoman Empire, and even after the declaration of the Turkish Republic slaves still existed under the guise of “adoptees” and “housemaids.” Today the largest Afro-Turkish population lives in Izmir. Their ancestors are from African countries and they were brought to the slave market to work the fields of the sultans and the Egyptian Khedive. Their generations can be traced back to Muğla in particular and its neighborhoods.

2. LOSS OF CULTURAL MEMORY

While history is known to be constructed according to political circumstances, collective memory is also formed to fit certain social structures. According to Basseler (2008), there are not a lot of (modern) societies, as in the American case, which uncompromisingly present empowering memories and engage in the active annihilation of diverging collective memories (cf. Basseler, 2008: 32). One such society that actively implemented the extinction of the cultural memory of minorities, however, can be found in Anatolia, where African people were quickly assimilated during both the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic. People of African heritage face the destruction of their collective memories through forced departure from their homes, the loss of their mother tongue, illiteracy, altered family structures, and the suppression of their Afro history.

Indeed, the displacement of African people as slaves from their familiar homelands and the territorial isolation from their traditional commemorative lands closely followed the experience of a traumatic relocation leading to an immense loss of collective memory. Bharucha (2001: 53) has explained, that “[l]iving in diaspora means living in forced or voluntary exile and living in exile usually leads to severe identity confusion and problems of identification with an alienation from the old and new cultures and homelands.” Compared to the system of slavery in America or Jamaica, African slaves in Anatolia did not work mainly on plantations or in the fields; rather, they mostly worked in the palaces of the sultans or in the houses of rich families. This meant that African people sold as slaves or those captured as slaves lived mostly among other white slaves. The only break they could enjoy from this isolation was the “Dana Bayramı”, the Calf Festival, a spring celebration during which African slaves living in

the Aegean area came together and were able to see family members and friends.

As important as territorial displacement is, the loss of their mother tongue as the result of slavery was probably the most important aspect contributing to the loss of identity and memory. African slaves from any particular tribe were put together with slaves from other tribes and then sold in different places. Those who were lucky enough to find someone who spoke the same language as they did had to face strict laws that forbade them from speaking in their mother tongue, and as a result those languages were gradually forgotten. If we consider modern theories of language and culture which argue that culture and language are closely connected to each other, it is easy to draw the conclusion that the loss of one's mother tongue is equal to the loss of one's culture. In particular, requiring or persuading slaves to convert to Islam meant that they had to accept the dominant culture and its language.

Also, written and unwritten laws prohibiting African slaves from reading and writing restricted their access to part of their cultural memory. Therefore, both oral and written literature could not be used as tools to maintain cultural reminiscences. Some African slaves in the Ottoman Empire received a degree of education, especially if they served in the military and in the palaces. However, after being emancipated they tended to settle in villages with larger black communities and did not have the means to send their children to schools located outside the villages for a proper education. This situation did not change until the late 1970s and early 1980s when such families moved to the ghettos of Izmir to find work, social security and education for their children.

According to Halbwach's (1992) and Assmann's (2008) theories, family and family memoirs are profound aspects of communicative memory. The systematic breaking up of slave families made it impossible for both the collective and conscious forms of remembrance to exist. Basseler (2008: 33) has noted that Halbwachs described this destruction of the social framework of memory as something like an intentionally provoked collective amnesia. African slaves in the Ottoman Empire were not able to create a family without the permission of their owners. The traditions, values, and beliefs that represented the cultural memory of African slaves, therefore, could not be passed on to the next generation. Furthermore, there was active suppression and the obvious neglect of Afro-Turkish history, as in the case of Afro-American history. As Henry Louis Gates (1989: 100) has pointed out:

In antebellum America, it was the deprivation of time in the life of the slave that first signaled his or her status as a piece of property. Slavery's time was delineated by memory and memory alone. One's sense of one's existence, therefore, was dependent on memory. It was memory, above all else that gave a shape to being itself. What brilliant substructure of the system of slavery! For the dependence upon memory made the slave, first and foremost, a slave to himself or herself, a prisoner of his or her own power of recall. Within such a time machine, as it were, not only had the slave no fixed reference points, but also his or her own past could exist only as memory without support, as the text without footnotes, as a clock without two hands. Within such tyrannical concept of time, the slave had no past beyond memory; the slave had lived at no time past the point of recollection.

In this way, the sense of time was denied consciously to the people of African heritage. According to Basseler (2008: 33), while reminiscences became a vital process to stay alive, slaves became prisoners of their own ability to remember ("Erinnerungsfähigkeit"). After the abolition of slavery, however, both the traumatic past of slavery and its *folk culture* were persistently rejected by twentieth century black citizens on the basis that it was "primitive." Afro-Americans felt this shame as a burden.^[2] Derrick Bell (1992: 1), in the introduction to his book, has noted:

When I was growing up in the years before the Second World War, our slave heritage was more a symbol of shame than a source of pride. It burdened black people with an indelible mark of difference as we struggled to be like whites. In those far-off days, survival and progress seemed to require moving beyond, even rejecting slavery.

The shame of Afro-Turkish people is also very emotional, as was explained by the Afro-Turkish journalist Alev Karakartal (2016: 1) in her article, which is about her father's attitude towards their ancestral past

2 While we can think of African American historical contributions as a counter-history-memory to the European based American-history-memory, which offers up the framework of American history in general, we cannot squeeze all people of African heritage into a group defined as descendants of African slaves. In other words, African American cultural memory includes a variety of cultural memories. People adhering to various religions, including Christianity and Islam, and African migrants, immigrants from the Caribbean and from Britain "call themselves 'African Americans' rather than Ndongan Americans or Ibo Americans, because they are a mixture of many African peoples" (Painter, 2006: 6). This is not the case in Turkey, as only African people who came as slaves to Anatolia call themselves Afro-Turkish people and the elderly still call themselves Arabs. Those who migrated in the 20th century refer to themselves as African.

disclosures: “Whenever I asked my father to tell our story, he would avoid it. He would say ‘don’t scratch old wounds’ and ‘what’s done is done’. It is not easy to heal the scars on their bodies and their souls. Sometimes it is not possible”. And Karakartal continues:

I am not the only third generation, not the only hybrid born in this country, whose ancestors were wrenched from their homes, brought as slaves who, although being fine with having a Turkish Muslim identity, started to embrace their past and to speak up. It is time to tell our stories to each other. It may well be that one time even the “real” Turkish people will have the refreshment of accepting their real history. Who knows...? (*Idem*: 3)

Mustafa Olpak (2005: 2), head of the Afro-Turkish Association, has also added, in his book, that “The first generation experienced slavery and the second generation was ashamed; the third generation, however, asks questions.” Such thinking has helped some of these people become the most important activists in the project of restoring the cultural memory of Afro-Turkish people in Anatolia.

3. THE EFFECTS OF THE MEMORY BOOM IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

“WELCOME TO THE MEMORY INDUSTRY”, Klein (2000: 1) has written at the beginning of his article and refers that “the memory industry ranges from the museum trade to the legal battles over re-pressed memory and on to the market for academic books and articles that invoke *memory* as key word”. He also states that our fascination with these kinds of memorable things is quite new (*ibidem*). While there was interest in individual memory studies in ancient Greece, according to Olick (1998: 105) collective memory studies flourished in the early twentieth century with the so-called crisis of historicism. Klein has argued that “for years, specialists have dealt with such well-known phenomena as oral history, autobiography, and commemorative rituals without ever pasting them together into something called *memory*” (Klein, 200: 128). Indeed, while academics once spoke about oral, folk or popular history or even myth, memory has now become an all-encompassing umbrella term. Erll and Nünning (2005: 19), in their work, have focused on three main reasons which explain the so-called “*memory boom*”:

- 1) A historical process of transformation which reflects the ethnic and political implications of memory.
- 2) Through technological and other changes in media, a drastic transformation appears in preconditions, opportunities, and forms of representation of the past and their storage – archiving.
- 3) The need for critical reflection in the humanities and sciences-historical dimension, because of the changes of historical-philosophy and the *cultural turn*. (*Idem*: 2)

In particular, the media has had a major impact on many minority groups in Turkey. According to Depeli (2001: 3) the journalists in the 1990s have developed the idea that “we have to remember in order to be able to forget.” Depeli has added that those themes such as the Armenian deportation, the Greek-Turkish population exchange in 1923, the massacre in Dersim, warfare in the southeast of Anatolia, and many other topics, opened up the door for the cultural memory boom in Turkey. Suddenly, news and other programs were discussing themes that had been taboo for a long time. Consequently, minority groups responded in two ways, either negatively or positively.

The negative side of the coin was that minority groups had bitter memories regarding their pasts and this was presented through resistance and the idea that “we won’t forget, and we won’t let you forget either!” (Depeli, 2001: 3). In contrast to some of the larger minority groups in Turkey, the Afro-Turkish community chose to respond in a positive way. During the period of the “memory boom,” Mustafa Olpak, a marble worker, felt the need, shortly after his mother’s death, to write down his family history. His book, *Kenya-Girit-İstanbul: Köle Kıyısından İnsan Biyografileri* (2000), is the only book written by a member of the Afro-Turkish community that has been published to date^[3] and has been compared to Alex Haley’s book, *Roots*. Mustafa Olpak’s story begins in Kenya where his ancestors were captured and taken to Greece and then to Istanbul. The book is constructed along an organized timeline that weaves together not only his memoirs but also the memories of his family members. As a montage, Olpak pulls together letters, postcards, historical data, and photographs, including information about the past, without disrupting the main story. A close reading reveals that Olpak has not only constructed a mnemonic design, but also that he shows the values and traditions of Afro-Turkish family life as being part of the present.

3 As of 2015, Mustafa Olpak is still the only Afro-Turkish writer in Turkey. He has also published a book intitled *Kenya’dan İstanbul’a Kölekıyısı and Arap Kızı Kemale*.

Many Afro-Turkish people sympathize with the story and are able to find themselves in it while reading about the traumatic events experienced by a black person and the familiar characteristics and customs. But the book is not written in an accusatory tone. Olpak himself directly addresses the reader in the preface in which he explains that he wrote the book because he thought he had an obligation to Turkish society, where he is able to live as a free man together with people from his own race and family. That is why he tried to write in an objective tone and not leave any dark secrets. Even in his epilogue he gives information about two family members whose names were mentioned in the book, but whose stories were there left untold. Furthermore, his book motivated Afro-Turkish people to conduct research about their own pasts, and in the process many of them contacted the writer. Mustafa Olpak also felt an obligation to his community, friends, and supporters who worked to create the Afro-Turkish Association, which came into being at the end of 2006.

4. RESTORING CULTURAL MEMORY

The aim of opening the Afro-Turkish Association in Izmir was to revive cultural memory and, consequently, human pride and identity, though most of those involved knew that a huge amount of knowledge was forever lost and unrecoverable. Although there was a renewal of interest in the past, there wasn't enough documentation. Indeed, tracing the early influences of the African people is quite difficult, for neither the sultan nor rich families mentioned their black slaves or discussed their traditions, values, or customs.

So, Mustafa Olpak and his team of volunteer academicians began to visit every Afro-Turkish family they could find and make video and audio recordings. They collected not only information about the families, but also their stories, experiences, and needs. Besides an oral history, he was also looking for written documents. He remembers, in an interview with Annette Kübler (2015: 1): "Whenever I heard or read about something, or when I met academicians or people from the media, I asked for a copy, went to a lot of places, and waited for long hours, even months. But now I have an amazing archive of the history of African slavery in Anatolia."

With his newly acquired and enriched awareness of both the past and present conditions of the Afro-Turkish population, Olpak realized that many black people were unaware of their cultural memories and that

the community itself had been mostly ignored and made invisible. The Association started to organize symposiums and invited historians, sociologists and journalists to speak about topics such as the African slave route, being black, and the problems of the Afro-Turkish community in confronting discrimination. People were able to visit the photo exhibition and chat afterwards over cocktails. Non-blacks, members of other minority groups, the press, politicians, and members of UNESCO attended these panels. Several television channels invited Olpak for interviews and other Afro-Turkish people were also suddenly in the news. In addition, Olpak appeared in a documentary on Afro-Turkish people, shot in 2007, called *The Arab Girl Looks from the Window*, and released in English, as *Baa Baa Black Girl*. This documentary was broadcast both on television and at international and domestic film festivals. The film was granted an honorable mention by UNESCO, at the *Breaking the Chains: Zanzibar International Film Festival*, in 2007.

As the Afro-Turkish community garnered more attention than ever before, Olpak and his team wanted to create projects for the younger people in the community. With volunteers from Aegean University, in Izmir, and support from the local municipality, children attending primary school were able to take courses to learn traditional African dances and how to play traditional instruments. As they came together with other black children they did not have to deal with the teasing that they usually experienced at primarily white schools. They not only enjoyed themselves, but also learned about their traditional folklore, and proudly presented their dances and music at special events and festivals. The association recently added computer courses for black students because a lot of families are unable to purchase such devices.

Another project is about the empowering of Afro-Turkish women, especially mothers and othermothers.^[4] By taking up the issue of black mothers' struggles, we must mention the experiences of slavery which determined their social behavior and family relations at the turn of the twentieth century. One dimension of black mothers' struggles for maternal empowerment concerns control over their bodies and the ability to choose to be mothers or not, including the ability to have and nurture their children. Although black women are free today, they are mostly uneducated and living in poverty. In light of these issues, there are plans to offer a twelve-week session of psychodrama therapy. The aim is to assist Afro-Turkish women

4 Othermothers are women who are mothers themselves or were mothers, who are past their childrearing years and who take care of children who do not biologically belong to them.

so they can revise their own social roles, status, and means of communication; in addition, they will be better equipped to raise self-awareness, learn from each other's experiences, identify the resources they have, and share experiences through in-group encounters.

The largest project, however, is the *Dana Bayramı* (Calf Festival), which traditionally was a spring celebration, held by African slaves during the Ottoman Empire. Every May, African slaves gathered together to celebrate the Calf Festival, which was the only opportunity they had to see family members and friends. A calf was decorated, sacrificed, cooked, and shared at a large feast. People danced and sang African songs, and this continued for three Fridays. The festival was organized by a leader who was called the Godya or the Gudy, and who was usually a wise old woman. The Godya knew about certain types of incense which were known as Arabic incense. In this ritual, people would shake and tremble, their eyes would roll, and they would take on a rather otherworldly appearance. The Godya was the only person who could end this trance state. She earned her living through tips she received during these rituals and once you were involved in the ritual you had to repeat it every year. The Godya was also able to create salves for poisonous insect and snake bites. The Godya not only had medical and magical powers, but also social power. At the Calf Festival, the families provided the Godya with news about births, deaths and marriages; and in turn she shared this information with other Godyas. In this way, families who lived far away were able to hear about each other. The Godya also cared for the poor and looked after orphaned black children.

Due to the laws known as Tekke and Zaviye, the Calf Festival was forbidden in 1925. But according to some accounts, the festival continued to be held in secret in the villages of Torbalı until the 1950s. In 2008, the Afro-Turkish Association invited Afro-Turkish people to a large picnic and before the picnic black and non-black people gathered together and marched with banners to draw attention to the event and invite other people to join in. African dances and performances were held and jazz singers from all over the world came to sing. The modern version of the Calf Festival lasts for a weekend, and while so far no animals have been sacrificed, traditional African food is served and families enjoy themselves. Moreover, many Afro-Turkish people are able to meet long lost family members at the picnic.

Much work remains left to be done to make sure that Afro-Turkish people have a voice and become visible in the eyes of society. Most "white" Turks are unaware of the various cultures that exist and the intermarriages that have occurred, so they often think that black-skinned people in Turkey

are American or Tanzanian. However, Afro-Turkish people have lived in Anatolia for five hundred years, and this, in fact, may well make them more Turkish than many other Turkish people. Therefore, the dominant “white” culture would be wise to listen to the voices of the various minority groups that continue to coexist with them.

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O OLHAR DA EMIGRAÇÃO.

TRANSCULTURAÇÃO, AUTO-ETNOGRAFIA E
ANTICONQUISTA NO PREFÁCIO A *CANTOS MATUTINOS*
DE FRANCISCO GOMES DE AMORIM^[1]

Martina Matozzi

0. INTRODUÇÃO: FRANCISCO GOMES DE AMORIM, EMIGRANTE AOS NOVE ANOS DE IDADE

Tinha eu pouco mais de nove anos quando algumas leis represivas do tráfico dos pretos encaminharam a especulação dos negreiros para o comércio de escravos brancos. A Inglaterra usava da sua influência sobre Portugal, e os traficantes não se tinham ainda lembrado de inspirar às autoridades da África portuguesa o patriótico pensamento de se associarem com eles, para se vingarem da pressão exercida pelos ingleses sobre o seu innocent negócio.

Francisco Gomes de Amorim, *Cantos Matutinos*

Francisco Gomes de Amorim (1827-1891), poeta romântico de origem minhota, emigrou em criança para o Brasil, em 1837, como “filho do navio” (Carvalho, 2000: 46), isto é, em clandestinidade, acompanhado por um irmão dois anos mais velho. A emigração de menores de catorze anos era, de resto, muito comum nesta altura, tratando-se de mão-de-obra altamente rentável e mais barata que os escravos: “Mal remunerados, objeto de mau tratos frequentes nas fazendas, a sua situação era igualmente difícil nas cidades, onde o desemprego os arrastava facilmente para a delinquência.” (Pereira, 2002: 42).

1 Este artigo resulta do trabalho desenvolvido no âmbito do projeto “Portugueses de Torna-Viagem. A Representação da Emigração na Literatura Portuguesa” do doutoramento Patrimónios de Influência Portuguesa (Centro de Estudos Sociais e Instituto de Investigação Interdisciplinar - Universidade de Coimbra). A pesquisa foi financiada pela Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia com a Bolsa de Doutoramento SFRH / BD / 78581 / 2011.

Gomes de Amorim trabalhou como caixeiro em Belém do Pará, ao serviço de um rico comerciante. Foi daí despedido por má conduta, resolveu nesta ocasião aprender a ler e a escrever e, pouco tempo depois, foi para a Floresta Amazónica onde viveu cerca de quatro anos ao serviço de diversos senhores e desempenhando vários trabalhos: “(...) ora carpinteiro, ora plantador, ora remador, segundo as conveniências do seu serviço, e nem sempre lhe davam de comer (...)” (Carvalho, 2000: 129, 130). No terceiro ano que passou na selva, escreveu duas cartas a Almeida Garrett mostrando-lhe a admiração que nutria pela sua obra que tivera oportunidade de ler no Brasil, contando as suas desventuras e pedindo apoio para ser repatriado.^[2] Quando regressou a Portugal, em 1846, Almeida Garrett tornou-se seu protetor literário e dele Gomes de Amorim escreveu uma apreciada biografia (cf. Saraiva e Lopes, 2008: 761, 762).

Conhecido sob a alcunha de “poeta operário”, participou ativamente na vida política nacional e produziu uma considerável obra poética, narrativa e teatral em que a emigração é tema recorrente.

O presente artigo tem como objetivo analisar o prefácio ao seu livro de poemas intitulado *Cantos Matutinos*, publicado em 1858, em que consta o testemunho da experiência migratória vivida na pele pelo mesmo escritor, um emigrante económico português numa condição de subalternidade.

1. EMIGRAR DE PORTUGAL PARA O BRASIL DURANTE O SÉCULO XIX

Quando é que o fenómeno histórico da colonização passa a ser uma sobrevivência? Quando é que o emigrante-colono, tradicional no contexto de uma área mundial dominada por uma metrópole europeia, como no caso do império português, se transforma também numa sobrevivência? Quando é que novos condicionalismos sócio-económicos impelem números crescentes de indivíduos a expatriarem-se para qualquer parte, onde exista a esperança da promoção, inviável no «pátrio chão»?

Joel Serrão, *A Emigração Portuguesa*

A experiência migratória contada no prefácio em estudo enquadra-se no contexto do aumento dos fluxos migratórios de Portugal para a América do Sul, para o Brasil, em particular, durante o século XIX.

2 As cartas de Francisco Gomes de Amorim a Almeida Garrett foram escritas em julho e janeiro de 1845. Estas, assim como a resposta de Almeida Garrett, podem ser lidas in Carvalho, 2000: pp. 229-234.

Neste âmbito, será necessário destacar algumas características históricas dos fluxos migratórios portugueses relativos à época em questão, bem como considerar os aspetos relativos à percepção do Brasil “como uma caução do colonialismo português”, usando aqui uma expressão de Eduardo Lourenço (2014: 21-35) e tendo, portanto, em conta o alcance que atinge a “existência imperial”, real e imaginada, presente na cultura portuguesa.

A emigração do século XIX tem uma evidente continuidade colonial, inaugurada pela expansão quinhentista, registando vários momentos de aumentos das partidas para o além-mar, como tinha acontecido, por exemplo, a partir do final do século XVII e ao longo de todo o século XVIII, com a corrida ao ouro na região de Minas Gerais. Sendo possível considerá-la uma permanência estrutural da sociedade portuguesa desde, pelo menos, o século XV, como demonstraram os estudos pioneiros de Joel Serrão (1974) e de Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1978), ao mesmo tempo, é possível constatar, como tem apontado o estudo de Miriam Halpern Pereira (2002), que, no século XIX, o fenómeno adquiriu características novas. Isto é, os fluxos migratórios integraram-se no contexto mais amplo da emigração europeia oitocentista como efeito da lenta extinção do tráfico negreiro, das políticas de branqueamento das nações americanas recém-independentes, e a par da implementação da nau a vapor, que facilitou os fluxos transoceânicos.

Dito de outra forma, se desde o início da expansão até meados do século XIX a emigração europeia tinha maioritariamente desempenhado a função de enquadramento socioeconómico e administrativo da sociedade colonial, baseada no trabalho escravo, a abolição da escravatura colocou os países americanos diante da necessidade de a substituir (cf. Pereira, 2002: 17). É neste momento que tem início uma “emigração em grande escala” (*idem*: 17). Neste contexto, a emigração portuguesa para o Brasil deixou de fornecer este enquadramento, tornando-se a principal fonte de mão-de-obra utilizada e distinguindo-se dos fluxos migratórios que provinham do norte da Europa. De facto, enquanto “[n]os países industrializados a emigração permitiu diminuir o desemprego e o pauperismo inerentes à industrialização oitocentista (...)”, nos países da “(...) Europa Mediterrânica, a corrente emigratória integra-se no condicionalismo particular a que a desagregação da sociedade de Antigo Regime estava ali sujeita, proveniente do desenvolvimento desigual do capitalismo e da inerente dependência externa.” (*Idem*: 18).

O percurso migratório de Francisco Gomes de Amorim, que provinha de uma região do norte de Portugal cuja tradição migratória, como demonstram vários estudos históricos além dos suprarreferidos (cf. Alves, 1993; cf. Bethencourt e Chaudhuri, 1998: 16 e 100, 101), estava enraizada há séculos, insere-se portanto no quadro aqui esboçado, visto que o poeta emigrou para o Brasil para fugir à pobreza do local onde nasceu, acabando por servir de mão-de-obra a baixo custo no país sul-americano.

Será ainda preciso chamar a atenção para os aspetos concernentes à percepção do Brasil tendo em conta a projeção de uma “existência imperial”, real e imaginada, presente na cultura portuguesa. Como afirma Eduardo Lourenço, o emigrante português prolonga no Brasil a presença colonizadora do seu país de origem, aí encontrando “(...) possibilidades que a Europa não lhe fornece (...)” e permanecendo “(...) numa imensa casa onde se fala com doçura a sua própria língua.” (Lourenço, 1999: 50). O país recém- independente (desde 1822) transforma-se assim num espaço idealizado que adquire maior importância simbólica após a sua perda.

O Brasil, como a Índia durante uma época, como a África no final, acrescentavam-se, na imaginação do português cultivado (e por contágio nos outros), ao pequeno país para lhe dar uma *dimensão mágica* e através dela se constituírem como espaços compensatórios (Lourenço, 2013: 45)

O Brasil como “espaço compensatório”, ou como foi chamado por Fernando Pessoa no seu entendimento do “imperialismo cultural”, como uma “colónia espiritual” (1978: 233) representava, portanto, uma terra selvagem, exótica, rica e ainda por desbravar (cf. Machado, 2005: 51), embora passe a constituir, a partir do século XIX, também o principal destino da emigração económica do país. Para o potencial emigrante português este país era um “espaço mágico de enriquecimento” (Oliveira, 2004: 8), onde talvez fosse possível projetar as ambições e os sonhos de uma vida melhor, como ainda permanece evidente no romance *Emigrantes* (1928) de Ferreira de Castro:

Palavra mágica, o Brasil exercia ali um perene sortilégio e só a sua evocação era motivo de visões esplendorosas, de opulências deslumbrantes e vidas liberadas. Sujeitos ao ganha-pão diário, sofrendo existência mesquinha, os lugarejos sonhavam redimir-se, desde as veigas em flor ao dorso das serranias, pelo oiro conquistado no país distante. (Castro, 1946: 30)

2. O OLHAR DA EMIGRAÇÃO DE FRANCISCO GOMES DE AMORIM

(...) Confiei meu fado escuro
Ao céu puro
Da solidão
Mas o ar da terra estranha
Na montanha
É um vulcão (...)

Francisco Gomes de Amorim, *Cantos Matutinos*

Tratando-se de uma narrativa de viagem, o prefácio aqui objeto de análise pode ser interpretado à luz das ferramentas conceituais que Mary Louise Pratt usa no estudo intitulado, em tradução portuguesa, *Os Olhos do Império. Relatos de Viagem e Transculturação*, referentes aos fenômenos que resultam das vivências em zonas de contacto: transculturação, anticonquista e auto-etnografia. No livro referido, a estudiosa apresenta uma investigação sobre a literatura de viagem europeia do século XVIII até meados do século XX. Através da análise de um vasto compêndio discursivo fruto das diferentes “manifestações das zonas de contacto”, construía-se, segundo a autora, uma consciência planetária e eurocêntrica do “resto do mundo”, oferecida aos leitores europeus através de uma indústria editorial altamente rentável e forçosamente proposta, numa relação de poder transcultural e assimétrico, como modelo discursivo para os povos dominados e, mais tarde, para as classes crioulas sul-americanas (cf. Pratt, 1999: 195-229).

As zonas de contacto são espaços sociais em que culturas diversas interagem, estabelecendo uma ligação de relações desiguais, de dominação e subordinação (*idem*: 27) e assim gerando diversas manifestações, entre as quais a transculturação, conceito usado pelos etnógrafos para descrever os grupos marginalizados ou subalternos que constroem o próprio discurso apropriando-se, filtrando e reformulando o discurso dominante. Mas também o contrário, isto é, a forma como o discurso dominante se apropria do discurso do “outro”, gerando, por consequência, uma reflexão às avessas que Mary Louise Pratt interroga da seguinte forma:

Como modos metropolitanos de representação são recebidos e apropriados pela periferia? Essa questão engendra outra, talvez mais herética: no que se refere à representação, como se falar de transculturação das colônias para a metrópole? (...) Em que medida as construções europeias sobre outros subordinados teriam sido moldadas por estes últimos, através da construção de si próprios e de seu ambiente, tal como eles os apresentam aos europeus? (*Idem*: 31)

Outras manifestações da zona de contacto são a auto-etnografia, que exprime a necessidade de autorrepresentação do sujeito subalterno de forma comprometida com os termos do colonizador (*idem*: 35), e a anti-conquista, com a qual se entendem as estratégias de representação usadas pelos agentes europeus para salvaguardar a sua própria posição de poder, recorrendo a uma retórica imperial que os coloca numa posição de inocência (*idem*: 32-33).

Mesmo colocando o uso destes conceitos operativos em contextos e temporalidades coloniais diferentes, referindo a dualidade constante entre a presença europeia como colonizadora e a dos povos autóctones, e diaspóricos, subalternizados — da América do Sul à África Subsaariana — Mary Louise Pratt admite que alguns tipos de estratégias de formulação discursiva que têm lugar nas zonas de contacto podem também estar presentes em escritos europeus sobre a Europa, ou em outros contextos:

Leitores de livros europeus de viagens sobre a própria Europa têm observado que muitas das convenções e estratégias narrativas que associo ao expansionismo imperial também caracterizam escritos sobre a Europa. (...) Os discursos que legitimam a autoridade burguesa e desautorizam o modo de vida camponês e de subsistência, por exemplo, podem desempenhar a mesma tarefa ideológica na Europa como no sul da África ou Argentina. (*Idem*: 37)

À luz desta afirmação e das anteriores considerações sobre o momento histórico em que Gomes de Amorim passou pela experiência migratória, será portanto possível considerar a hipótese de que, no prefácio aqui em análise, as várias manifestações da zona de contacto se fundem no discurso do escritor. Com uma especificidade que é necessário realçar: o escritor europeu e branco usa e seleciona o discurso imperial, isto é, o discurso a que ele tem acesso e que aprende na sua formação cultural, para descrever uma situação de subalternidade que não presenciou enquanto observador, cientista ou viajante europeu — como no caso dos textos que Mary Louise Pratt analisa no seu estudo, nos capítulos dedicados, precisamente, ao olhar europeu imperial —^[3], mas que viveu na pele, enquanto emigrante económico.

Portanto, por um lado, é possível identificar um olhar europeu que produz um relato de viagem para ser lido na Europa e, por outro lado, depreende-se um olhar numa posição de subalternidade: a voz ambivalente

3 Vejam-se os capítulos de 2 a 8 do estudo de Pratt, 1999: 41-335.

de um representante de um povo empobrecido que escolhe emigrar, em que o autor se inclui sob a definição coletiva de “escravos brancos” (Amorim, 1874a: 29). Em outras palavras, Gomes de Amorim usa e seleciona o discurso imperial, ou seja, o discurso do poder, e a que tem acesso, para descrever a situação de subalternidade que viveu na pele.

Tratar-se-á, em suma, de um texto produzido no contexto de uma cultura de fronteira e, a este propósito, será necessário evidenciar a posição “interidentitária” que está patente no texto aqui em análise, refletindo sobre as especificidades do colonialismo português através do ensaio “Entre Próspero e Caliban. Colonialismo. Pós-colonialismo e Interidentidade” de Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2002). Considerando que, na sua condição semiperiférica, Portugal foi ao mesmo tempo colonizador e colonizado, no texto de Gomes de Amorim será possível deparar com um sujeito a viver na condição de anticonquistador e herói romântico (refletindo assim o olhar imperial, isto é, de Próspero) e, ao mesmo tempo, na condição de subalterno que usa de forma comprometida o discurso do primeiro (refletindo assim o olhar de um emigrante económico, isto é, de Caliban). Tudo no cenário de um Brasil já não colónia efetiva, mas que ainda preserva a sua “dimensão mágica” (Lourenço, 2013: 45) no contexto cultural português.

3. O COMPÊNDIO DISCURSIVO DO PREFÁCIO DE FRANCISCO GOMES DE AMORIM

(...) Já mil vezes nestas plagas
E nas vagas
A morte vi!
Lutei com o mar e os ventos
Os tormentos
Todos venci! (...)

Francisco Gomes de Amorim, *Cantos Matutinos*

Dentro do compêndio discursivo a que Gomes de Amorim recorre na sua narrativa é possível reconhecer o modelo de uma literatura de sobrevivência que engloba a narrativa de navegação com os seus sofrimentos e perigos, bem como a descrição de um mundo desconhecido e exótico que, em parte, introduz uma narrativa de história natural, no momento em que o autor descreve a Floresta Amazónica.

É dentro do modelo de uma literatura de sobrevivência que é possível detetar a denúncia da condição subalterna do emigrante português

que, mesmo imaginando o Brasil como um “espaço mágico de enriquecimento” (Oliveira, 2004: 8), um “espaço compensatório” (Lourenço, 2013: 45), naquele momento histórico vai para lá substituir o trabalho escravo. Neste contexto, o emigrante pode ser considerado um sujeito subalterno^[4], detentor de uma condição diferente no que diz respeito aos emigrantes dos países industrializados, aos escravos que vai substituir, ou a outros tipos de viajantes europeus^[5]. Esta oscilação e a ambiguidade que é possível notar entre a continuidade colonial da emigração portuguesa e as alterações das suas características a partir de meados do século XIX, refletem-se também no âmbito das suas representações literárias, como agora me proponho demonstrar.

No trecho que cito a seguir, é possível observar a descrição das redes dos agentes da emigração em Portugal, que confirmam os estudos da historiadora Miriam Halpern Pereira (2002: 33-43) sobre as políticas ambíguas e restritivas da emigração portuguesa para o Brasil, bem como sobre a complexa composição das redes de engajadores.

Os negreiros correram pois para o continente do reino e ilhas dos Açores; e, dentro em pouco, os mercados do Brasil abundaram novamente em carne humana, com grande vantagem para os consumidores, que podiam comprar escravos brancos mais baratos do que pretos. (Amorim, 1874a: 29)

A este propósito, leia-se ainda a seguinte passagem sobre a negociação de portugueses, entre os quais Gomes de Amorim, em Belém do Pará.

Depois de uma viagem, em que não faltaram a fome, a sede, as calmas e as tormentas, chegamos a essa formosa terra de Santa Maria de Belém do Pará (...). Apenas desembarcamos, formaram-nos em turmas nos cais da alfandega, para

4 Na cultura do homem dominado é preciso incluir também “[...] a do emigrante pobre que vem do país do colonizador.” (Capinha, 2014: 16).

5 Neste contexto veja-se a distinção que Robin Cohen propõe entre os emigrantes europeus e os não europeus, que não se aplica na totalidade ao caso português, como corrobora a reflexão de Miriam Halpern Pereira antes referida (2002: 17-19). Concordando com a distinção proposta entre “escravos” e “contratados”, no caso português não é possível concordar totalmente com as hipóteses de Cohen: “In the plantation societies established by European mercantilism, indentured labourers were highly disadvantaged by the terms of their contracts and even after they had served out their indentures, they were able only to obtain the status of colonial subject. Their descendants had to await the process of decolonization to reach citizenship and even then many experienced discrimination and expulsions as a result of the restricted definitions of nationality that emerged. By contrast, those European migrants who successfully established dominion societies appropriated the boundaries of nationality and citizenship for themselves, normally at the expense of the native peoples and sometimes at the expense of non-European migrants.” (Cohen, 1996: 27).

que os negociantes da cidade viessem escolher d'entre nós os que mais lhe agradassem. Eu estava ali, sem saber para quê, no meio de grande multidão de gente de todas as cores, que parecia escarnecer de mim e dos meus compatriotas. (Amorim, 1874a: 35, 36)

O poeta estrutura a sua narrativa adotando o modelo das crônicas de viagem coloniais da tradição literária portuguesa (cf. Ribeiro, 1998: 123). A descrição do mercado de escravos em Belém, que se compunha de “gentes de todas as cores”, entre as quais a branca do português, parece-se com a descrição do mercado de escravos algarvio retratado por Gomes Eanes de Zurara no século XV na *Crónica da Guiné* (1978-1981).

No outro dia (...) começaram os mareantes de aparelhar seus bateis e [de] tirar aqueles cativos para os levarem, segundo lhes fora mandado. Os quais postos juntamente naquele campo, era uma maravilhosa coisa de ver: porque entre eles havia alguns de razoada brancura, formosos e apostos; outros menos brancos, que queriam semelhar pardos; outros tão negros como Etiópios (...) (Zurara, 1978-1981: s./p.)

Ao mesmo tempo, a descrição da viagem onde não faltaram “a fome, a sede, as calmas e as tormentas”, levam-me a pensar numa possível comparação com muitos trechos das crônicas compiladas na *História Trágico-Marítima* ou ainda com *Os Lusíadas* ou a *Peregrinação* de Fernão Mendes Pinto.

E tomado por princípio desta minha peregrinação o que passei neste reino, digo que depois que passei a vida até ida de dez ou doze anos na miséria e estreiteza da pobre casa de meu pai na vila de Montemor-o-Velho, um tio meu, parece que desejoso de me encaminhar para melhor fortuna, me trouxe à cidade de Lisboa e me pôs no serviço de uma senhora de geração assaz nobre (...) (Pinto, 1983: 20).

O modelo de narração que Gomes de Amorim cria para relatar as razões da sua partida remete a nível estilístico e, em parte, a nível temático, para a *Peregrinação*. Note-se, por exemplo, que o autor se define um “rapaz endiabrado e picaresco” (Amorim, 1874a: 40) e atente-se a mais um trecho do prefácio, comparável com o *incipit* da narrativa quinhentista: “Em vista do meu pedido, todos puseram as mãos na cabeça, e tornaram minha mãe responsável, perante o céu e a terra, pelas desgraças que de futuro me sucederam, se ela consentisse tamanha loucura.” (*Idem*: 34).

O prefácio foi redigido por um escritor já bastante experiente à data da sua elaboração e publicação na coletânea de poemas, que começou a sua formação cultural precisamente durante a experiência migratória, cultivando-a após o seu regresso a Portugal, onde também terá apurado a sua escrita. Da leitura das cartas dirigidas a Almeida Garrett, escritas em 1845, de facto, é ainda possível verificar uma certa rudeza formal (cf. Carvalho, 2000: 79). E no prefácio a sua inicial falta de literacia torna-se explícita:

Ao completar os meus doze anos, envergonhei-me por não saber ler, e apliquei-me ao estudo com tanta dedicação, que consegui aprender em poucos meses. (...) Eu não lia só para mim; queria auditório, e era pouco escrupuloso na escolha dele! A quantos pretos, tapuyos e mulatos apanhava, nas ocasiões que meu patrão saía de casa, comprazia-me em ler a morte de Roldão (...) (Amorim, 1874a: 40)

Posto isto, o facto de o poeta ter começado a sua formação num contexto migratório é um dado importante e a ter em conta para a percepção da sua escrita. Gomes de Amorim diz no prefácio que o primeiro livro que leu foi a *História de Carlos Magno*, também, não por acaso, leitura predileta de Gonçalves Dias, poeta romântico brasileiro, com uma obra de cunho americanista e indianista em parte escrita em Coimbra (pense-se na sua poesia mais conhecida, a *Canção do Exílio*) (cf. Ribeiro e Oliveira, 2000: X). De resto, como sugere Mary Louise Pratt, o romantismo enquanto corrente literária ultrapassa os limites da Europa e deveria ser pensado no contexto da sua produção sincrónica europeia e americana e não, exclusivamente, como uma projecção unilateral eurocêntrica sobre a América (cf. Pratt, 1999: 238).

Foi no Brasil que Gomes de Amorim leu pela primeira vez os clássicos portugueses, como *Os Lusíadas* ou *Camões* de Almeida Garrett, aprendendo, como o mesmo declara, a ver a floresta com os olhos do romantismo.

Aquele poema transformou-me repentinamente, e sem eu saber como: principi a ver debaixo de outro aspecto os rios, os lagos, as florestas e as montanhas. Pareceu-me que as flores derramavam maior perfume e se vestiam de mais vivas cores (...) (Amorim, 1874a: 44)

No Brasil o poeta terá também tomado conhecimento da região amazónica, escrevendo-a “mentalmente”, como nota Costa Carvalho (2000: 79). Mais tarde, em Portugal, terá adquirido uma compreensão mais aprofundada do

compêndio discursivo que foi o instrumento crucial para contar a sua história de vida. “Amorim conta o tempo pelo cair das folhas, ou pelo frutificar das plantas, como os de Chateaubriand e de outros autores franceses (...)”, afirma Maria Aparecida Ribeiro (1998: 136) num estudo sobre a obra do poeta. Com efeito, atente-se ao seguinte trecho do prefácio:

Familiarizei-me depressa com a presença da onça, do tigre e do tamanduá; com as mil variedades de serpentes e jacarés; com os gentios de varias tribos, e com a sua existência, costumes e festins bárbaros. (...) dentro de pouco a cor da minha pele era igual à dos tapuyos; deixei a espingarda pela frecha; a língua portuguesa pela dos tupis; preferi, enfim, os costumes selvagens aos do homem civilizado, e comecei a correr pelos bosques, como o tinha feito nos campos do Minho. (Amorim, 1874a: 43)

4. AMBIVALENCIAS E AMNÉSIAS TRANSCULTURAIS

(...) Do meu país distante,
E cheio de saudade,
A divagar errante,
Por triste soledade

Vou traduzir do rio,
Na voz da minha lira,
O rude murmúrio
Que seu poder lhe inspira (...)

Francisco Gomes de Amorim, *Cantos Matutinos*

De uma tensão entre um olhar imperial de anticonquista e um outro de auto-etnografia que se apropria do primeiro para dar voz a uma condição de subalternidade vivida na pele acaba por gerar-se o olhar transcultural e ambivalente de um emigrante português no Brasil na primeira metade do século XIX. O poeta tornou-se um afirmado autor não só de poesia, prosa e teatro, mas também de textos de história natural sobre o Brasil, como demonstram as inúmeras notas das suas peças teatrais, entre as quais se destacam *Ódio de Raça* (1869) e *O Cedro Vermelho* (1874b) ou ainda *Viagens pelo Interior do Brasil*, publicadas em *Artes e Letras* (cf. Ribeiro, 1998: 123-124). Nestas obras a temática migratória está quase sempre presente. Todavia, é no prefácio a *Cantos Matutinos* que é descrita, na primeira pessoa, uma condição social até o momento não assumida como tal no

panorama literário português: a de um português no Brasil como um emigrante económico, isto é, um subalterno, mesmo quando ele, como no caso de Gomes de Amorim, provém do país outrora colonizador.

A posição do escritor referente à questão da emigração manter-se-á sempre bastante polémica, apesar de por vezes contraditória, como se nota em vários escritos da sua autoria, entre os quais este trecho retirado de uma carta de 1889:

Eu que emigrei aos dez anos de idade para o Brasil, depois do meu regresso tenho tentado todos os modos e meios de fazer propaganda contra a emigração (...) Conheço praticamente os resultados e consequências da emigração; e por isso a tenho combatido sempre, em jornais, em dramas e nos meus modestos livros. (Amorim, 1889 *apud* Carvalho, 2000: 389)

Note-se, porém, que na luta contra a emigração que o escritor teceu através da divulgação da sua obra literária, ele promovia, na veste de um homem europeu branco (anticonquistador), a emigração para as colónias africanas como parte integrante da geografia e da projeção imperial portuguesa. No momento de pleno apogeu da Geração de 70, Gomes de Amorim desvendava os enganos do Brasil como colónia mental dos portugueses e divulgava a transferência da dimensão imperial “mágica” (Lourenço, 2013:45) do Brasil para os domínios coloniais que ainda se encontravam sob o controlo português.

Em vez de ir fecundar os vastos domínios ultramarinos, que ainda possuímos, e que se finam à míngua do impulso protector, o nosso povo desampara os seus campos, a família, o lar, e corre – não para as Índias, onde fomos tão grandes e ricos, nem para a África, onde poderíamos tornar a ser fortes e temidos – mas para o Brasil que é a terra dos seus sonhos doirados, o país da sua imaginosa fantasia. (Amorim, 1876 *in* *Frutos de Vário Sabor*, Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional: 19; *apud* Carvalho, 2000: 166).

Voltando aos trechos antes referidos do prefácio, será possível deparar como o narrador se coloca em relação à população indígena e preta: no mercado de escravos, a posição dele e dos seus compatriotas no meio de uma multidão “de todas as cores” é “escarnecida” (Amorim, 1874a: 35, 36). Da mesma forma, o narrador diz que se “familiarizou” com os costumes bárbaros, mas mesmo preferindo-os aos do homem civilizado, ele compara estes dois mundos com a infância que o mesmo viveu em Portugal, isto

é, com uma época de inocência, reproduzindo assim a inocência imperial típica do discurso de anticonquista. Esclarecedora, a este ponto, é a interpretação de Maria Aparecida Ribeiro e Fernando Matos Oliveira sobre o “vínculo colonial” presente na obra de Gomes de Amorim:

A interpretação do vínculo colonial (...) deve, pois, articular-se com este condicionamento prévio — o dos códigos literários e pessoais — sob pena de falhar o alvo. Note-se que a emigração económica de Amorim não deixa de incluir a sua escrita no âmbito de uma viagem coincidente com a do curso dos bens simbólicos da era imperial: o europeu regressa à metrópole tocado pela experiência do outro, mas é sobretudo a sua identidade que se joga na escrita posterior desse Novo Mundo. (Ribeiro e Oliveira, 2000: XXI)

A posição que o sujeito assume poderá ser então interpretada como uma tentativa de identificação com outros sujeitos subalternizados, mas através de uma sobreposição de vozes que dá origem ao olhar transcultural ambivalente que caracteriza a sua escrita. Veja-se este trecho da peça teatral *Ódio de Raça* onde se diz, acerca de um personagem preto: “(...) é pena que seja preto, porque tem alma de branco (...)” (*apud* Carvalho, 2000: 109).

5. EM JEITO DE CONCLUSÃO: NARRATIVAS DE EMIGRAÇÃO NA LITERATURA PORTUGUESA DO SÉCULO XIX

Há quem julgue que os quatrocentos ou quinhentos portugueses, que no fim de vinte ou trinta anos regressem à pátria, ricos e sem saúde, compensem a perda dos quarenta mil, que durante esse largo período expiram longe dela.

Francisco Gomes de Amorim, *Aleijões Sociais*

Gomes de Amorim produziu outras obras literárias em que aborda a temática da emigração. Além das peças teatrais já mencionadas e as referidas cartas que escreveu ao seu mentor literário, é ainda possível lembrar as *Datas de família e lembranças acerca de meus filhos* (Amorim, 1887: 191-196), as considerações sobre a sua peça *Aleijões Sociais* (cf. Carvalho, 2000: 163-164) e, inclusive, os poemas de *Cantos Matutinos*.⁶ No romance *As duas Fiandeiras* (1881) aparece, por exemplo, um “brasileiro de torna-viagem”,

6 Em *Cantos Matutinos* vejam-se os seguintes poemas: “O Desterrado”, “Quinze Anos”, “Meu Pai”, “O Céu é sua pátria”, “Amazonas”.

isto é, um português que regressava rico do Brasil: Domingos Rosmaninho, cuja descrição retrata e recusa, ao mesmo tempo, o perfil grotesco traçado desta personagem-tipo que nos mesmos anos sobreabundava nas narrativas de Camilo Castelo Branco. Atente-se a esta comparação entre um Domingos “(...) elegante, de botas de polimento, fraque verde, com botões amarelos (...) lustroso como espelho” (Amorim, 1881: 172) e um João José Dias “(...) de estatura menos que meã, adiposa, sem proeminências angulares, essencialmente pançuda (...)” (Castelo Branco, 1986: 43, 44), retirada do romance *O que fazem as mulheres* que foi publicado, como *Cantos Matutinos*, em 1858. A caracterização do “brasileiro”, portanto, carecia de um “contraponto consistente” (cf. Baganha, 1981: 130), que relatasse também a experiência migratória vivida por esta personagem. A mensagem que passou da leitura destas obras foi outra, no prolongamento de um estereótipo em relação a um emigrante (o “brasileiro”) de que Camilo Castelo Branco representou maioritariamente o exemplo de sucesso.^[7]

Nas inúmeras narrativas de Camilo Castelo Branco onde aparecem os “brasileiros”, tais como nos romances *Os Brilhantes do Brasileiro* (1869) e *Sentimentalismo e História* (1880), não são dadas informações sobre as experiências migratórias destas personagens, mas quase exclusivamente acerca do seu regresso: os “brasileiros” voltam ricos a Portugal e o Brasil, poderá também neste âmbito ser interpretado como um “espaço mágico de enriquecimento” (cf. Oliveira, 2004).

A escrita de Gomes de Amorim difere precisamente da de Camilo Castelo Branco e dos trajetos dos “brasileiros” que povoam os seus romances porque o “espaço mágico” nela é preenchido e narrado, contado em todos os seus detalhes como uma narrativa de história natural, seguindo o modelo de Humboldt em obras como *O Cedro Vermelho* ou em *Viagens pelo interior do Brasil*,^[8] ou ainda na introdução do romance supramencionado, e filtrado pelo compêndio discursivo da narração de viagem e de sobrevivência, como no caso do prefácio aqui em estudo. O mesmo escritor

7 Sobre a caracterização da personagem do “brasileiro de torna-viagem” e os estudos que analisam esta personagem literária veja-se Matozzi, 2016: 19-78.

8 De assinalar que, enquanto cronista, Gomes de Amorim assinou, entre 1872 e 1873, algumas crônicas sob o título de *Viagens pelo Interior do Brasil*, publicadas em *Artes e Letras* (cf. Ribeiro, 1998: 123-124) e que podem ser lidos em Peixoto, 1973. O mesmo autor chegará a evidenciar a veracidade das descrições da Amazônia por ele documentadas, “[...] pensam que bastam dois troncos saindo de entre ramarias confusas, uns calabres de nota, e outros cabos de andaime, cruzado sobre eles, para fingir cipós [...] Ah! Se eles compreendessem que diferença vai do vivo ao pintado!” (Amorim *apud* Carvalho, 2000: 88) em oposição à dos artistas franceses, dando vida a um profícuo diálogo com o historiador e viajante Ferdinand Denis, que acabou por reconhecer a autoridade na matéria por parte do poeta português (cf. Carvalho, 2000: 88, 89).

referir-se-á aos “brasileiros” por oposição à condição de emigrante que ele experienciou, como é evidente no texto referido em epígrafe a este subcapítulo, bem como neste trecho retirado do romance *As duas Fiandeiras*:

A emigração portuguesa, para o Brasil, é perfeito jogo de loteria. Por cada cem que se arriscam, volta um, raras vezes rico; mas, em geral, vem sempre doente para o resto da vida. Se há diferença entre esta roleta e a da Misericórdia de Lisboa, é que, na emigração, o numero branco é o mais feliz, o que volta; quase todos os que ficam, têm a sorte negra e atroz. (Amorim, 1881: 186)

O prefácio de Gomes de Amorim pode inscrever-se no contexto das representações românticas da América do Sul produzidas no Ocidente, bem como no Continente Americano. E aqui a comparação a fazer-se seria com a obra dos escritores brasileiros Gonçalves Dias e José de Alencar, ou ainda com a obra de outros escritores europeus que viajaram por este continente na mesma altura. O prefácio a *Cantos Matutinos* também assinala um desvio deste tipo de representações, pelo facto de o autor não empreender uma viagem ao Brasil como viajante, cientista ou poeta, mas reconhecendo-se como um emigrante. E aqui a comparação a fazer-se seria com os romances de Ferreira de Castro *Emigrantes* e *A Selva*, publicados na primeira metade do século XX por um escritor que, com Gomes de Amorim, partilha uma semelhante experiência migratória e percurso artístico.

O prefácio também representa um desvio do paradigma camiliano do “brasileiro de torna-viagem”, embora depois seja este último a tornar-se um modelo representativo dominante na literatura portuguesa, recorrentemente reproduzido, criticado e reescrito até a contemporaneidade.

Em conclusão, tratar-se-á de um texto que oferece um olhar próprio e original ao caracterizar a temática migratória, no contexto de uma ambiguidade colonial inerente a um império europeu periférico que se imaginou e “imagina como centro” de diferentes formas ao longo dos séculos (cf. Ribeiro, 2004).

Será talvez um prefácio que valha a pena recuperar de uma amnésia transcultural inerente as escritas da migração portuguesa. Nele, além da moldura de uma narração de inocente anticonquista, é possível vislumbrar o testemunho literário de um emigrante que, de torna-viagem, se tornou poeta.

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DE ÁRVORES E ÁLBUNS.

A MEMÓRIA DA IMIGRAÇÃO E DO DESTERRO EM ROMANCES LATINO-AMERICANOS CONTEMPORÂNEOS

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0. DA MOBILIDADE TRANSCULTURAL: MIGRAÇÃO, EXÍLIO, DIÁSPORA, DESTERRO E SUA MEMÓRIA

É quase um lugar comum abordar a saga das grandes massas migratórias que cruzaram os oceanos em busca de uma terra que oferecesse condições de vida que essas pessoas não tinham em suas terras de origem, particularmente na transição do século XIX para o XX. Muitos europeus, mas também muitos asiáticos, expulsos de suas terras pela reorganização econômica causada pela industrialização, optaram por vir para a América, terra da promessa. “Fazer a América” (Fausto, 1999) tornou-se uma expressão comum nessa época e, nesse contexto, Brasil e Argentina foram destinos privilegiados desses grandes grupos humanos em busca de um futuro melhor.

Na mentalidade de boa parte dos emigrantes, porém, o deslocamento seria provisório e deveria durar apenas o suficiente para acumular algum capital e poder retornar. Na maior parte dos casos, no entanto, a separação foi definitiva e eles tiveram que se adaptar à terra adotiva, tratando de assimilar a cultura local, ao mesmo tempo que eram assimilados por ela. O trauma da não concretização do desejo inicial e o confronto com a realidade posterior costumam estar no cerne dos relatos que passaram a enriquecer o processo de mistura que deu origem a essa entidade multicultural que chamamos de América Latina.

Entre os transterrados e seus descendentes, deslocados geralmente por motivos econômicos, mas também por motivos políticos, religiosos ou ideológicos, o processo de apagamento da identidade anterior e de construção da nova identidade é demorado e traumático. Há o confronto da

identidade antiga, construção discursiva que trata de se manter viva na memória daqueles que abandonaram sua terra, com o desejo das novas gerações de deixarem de ser diferentes e se integrarem na nova cultura. Também há a pressão da cultura local que, num movimento simultâneo de atração e rechaço, trata de forçar a integração dos novos membros, ao mesmo tempo que rejeita muitos elementos culturais por eles aportados.

Cada grupo tratou de elaborar a memória de sua experiência de integração/não integração a seu novo espaço de um modo particular. Tais discursos variam no tempo e no espaço, sendo bastante complexo elaborar uma cartografia completa dessas experiências que ocorrem ao longo de uma história de intersecções culturais. Há grupos que inicialmente se apegaram mais às particularidades de suas culturas originais para depois, conscientes do impossível regresso, tratarem de se ir inserindo nas culturas dos países em que vivem. Outros, por motivos variados, tendo praticamente cortado os vínculos com suas regiões de origem, em duas gerações já tinham praticamente esquecido aquelas identidades construídas pelos antepassados, sendo impossível até mesmo localizar a terra de origem dos antepassados ou identificar elementos daquela cultura.

Nesse contexto, no presente trabalho, trataremos de dois casos em muitos pontos similares, apesar dos pontos de dissensão: a imigração espanhola na Argentina e a imigração japonesa no Brasil. Cada qual à sua maneira, os relatos em questão tratam de construir a memória da gesta familiar do protagonista narrador através de narrativas de extração histórica (Trouche, 2006). Tecidos numa espécie de entrelugar (Santiago, 1978) da história, da memória e da ficção, os romances *Árbol de familia* (2010), da argentina María Rosa Lojo, e *Nihonjin* (2011), do brasileiro Oscar Nakasato, reconstroem uma espécie de memória da diáspora dos grupos abordados. No caso argentino, a narradora conta a saga de uma família de espanhóis formada por galegos e castelhanos, emigrantes e refugiados da Guerra Civil na Argentina. O romance brasileiro, também através da voz de um narrador em primeira pessoa, conta a história de três gerações de uma família de japoneses que se fixou no Brasil e cuja migração acabou por se tornar exílio, já que não puderam regressar.

A Argentina foi o principal receptor de emigrantes espanhóis, tanto no chamado período das grandes migrações ou migração de massa (Klein, 1999: 23), ocorrido entre 1880 e 1930, como no momento posterior à Guerra Civil espanhola (1936-1939), quando, além da imigração tradicional movida por causas económicas, houve um grande influxo de desterrados devido à Guerra Civil, que tiveram que sair da Espanha por

motivos político-ideológicos, mas também aqueles que já não encontravam lugar no país cuja economia tinha sido devastada pela guerra.

Entre os espanhóis, mais de um terço era constituído por galegos que por motivos variados saíram de sua terra, tradicional centro produtor de emigrantes (Silberstein, 1999:109). Sua inserção na sociedade argentina, em linhas gerais, não foi muito traumática, uma vez que as condições climáticas ajudavam a adaptação e as barreiras culturais não eram difíceis de serem transpostas. Embora pertencentes a uma cultura diferente, já desde a Espanha esses imigrantes estavam acostumados a uma constante negociação entre duas culturas, a original cultura galega e a cultura espanhola da elite dominante.

Ao contrário do que ocorria em sua terra, onde eram essencialmente agricultores ou pescadores, na Argentina fixaram-se em centros urbanos dedicando-se, em geral, à prestação de serviços. Da mesma forma, mantiveram, mais que outros grupos, o constante trânsito entre o Novo e o Velho Mundo, de acordo com a flutuação económica e necessidades familiares e/ou pessoais. Mais tarde, o longo período da quase interminável ditadura franquista cerceou essa mobilidade que voltou a ocorrer logo que o ditador faleceu, momento que coincide com a entrada da Argentina numa cruenta ditadura e num período de instabilidade económica.

A imigração japonesa foi uma das mais importantes do Brasil: representou o quinto contingente, no período de 1819 a 1939, depois de italianos, portugueses, espanhóis e alemães (Alvim, 1998: 233). O processo de construção de identidade dos descendentes da diáspora nipônica talvez seja um dos mais doloridos, por motivos variados. Em geral, a primeira geração nascida no Brasil, ainda imbuída da esperança dos pais, acalentou o desejo de regressar ao Japão. Mesmo tendo se integrado relativamente à cultura brasileira, cultivou muitos valores ancestrais preparados para se reintegrarem na velha pátria quando fosse necessário. Mantiveram a língua japonesa não apenas em situação familiar e principalmente aqueles que foram educados antes da proibição pelo governo brasileiro das escolas em língua estrangeira aprenderem a ler e escrever nessa língua, além de serem alfabetizados em português.

Nesse contexto, a chamada colônia japonesa no Brasil foi uma das mais conservadoras, se pensamos em projetos de integração ao país de adoção. Mesmo quando se esvaeceram as possibilidades reais do retorno à terra dos antepassados, especialmente depois da derrota do Japão na Segunda Guerra Mundial, essa colônia criou um discurso especial de manutenção e exaltação de sua cultura. Praticamente integrados na cultura dos estados

brasileiros em que se fixaram, em especial os do centro-sul do país, os nipo-brasileiros marcaram profundamente a economia dessas regiões, sobretudo graças às inovações por eles introduzidas na agricultura. Tais inovações agrícolas acabaram por impor também uma série de hábitos alimentares e gastronômicos. Em termos gerais, também na cultura pode ser notado o rasto de sua presença.

Além disso, edificaram e alimentaram uma construção simbólica: o nipo-brasileiro é bem-educado, sério e responsável. A família é bem estruturada, seguindo os valores nipônicos que colocam a coletividade em primeiro plano, restando pouco espaço para manifestações da individualidade. Os mais velhos são respeitados e dos jovens se exige, além do respeito àqueles, seriedade nos estudos e no âmbito profissional. Devem ocupar os primeiros lugares, tanto nos estudos, como no trabalho. Seria uma forma de se integrarem na nova cultura ocupando um espaço normalmente negado aos estrangeiros (Nakasato, 2008). Com todos esses estereótipos, os descendentes da diáspora nipônica no Brasil têm que lutar arduamente em seu dia a dia, na construção de sua identidade brasileira.

1. *ÁRBOL DE FAMILIA*: UM CORREDOR TRANSOCEÂNICO ENTRE DOIS CONTINENTES

Em *Árbol de familia*, María Rosa Lojo trata de construir uma espécie de crônica da memória familiar. Embora a capa do livro indique claramente que se trata de um romance, outros paratextos (Genette, 2009), como a dedicatória, por exemplo, trazem-no para um curioso entrelugar discursivo, “zona indecisa” onde se embaralham história, memória e ficção. A narradora em primeira pessoa chama-se Rosa, como a escritora. A explicitação do nome, porém, ocorre poucas vezes no relato. Da mesma forma, a família cuja história é contada refere-se aos Lojo Calatrava.

O livro está dividido em duas partes, precedidas de um prólogo, no qual a narradora se apresenta. Trata-se de um texto de duas páginas e meia, onze parágrafos, com grande força lírica, praticamente um poema em prosa. Os dez primeiros parágrafos, formando cada um deles uma espécie de micror-relato, começam pela primeira pessoa do verbo ser: “sou”. Neles a narradora, em gênero de sumário, apresenta os principais personagens do livro, que sustentam sua árvore genealógica. Seis do lado paterno e quatro do lado materno. O último parágrafo-relato passa do verbo “ser”, da identidade, para o verbo “vir”, da origem: “*Vengo de ésas, de ésos, como quien*

viene de tantos lugares [...]” (Lojo, 2010:13). A síntese remete para a memória perdida que se tenta recuperar, mais associada ao sensorial que ao verbal, através do “eco ainda ardente de histórias imprecisas”, que a narradora afirma estar buscando, “sem bússola, com um mapa incompleto e ambicioso” (*ibidem*).

Articuladas como dois movimentos, seguem as duas partes do relato. A primeira, denominada em galego, “*Terra pai*”, traça a genealogia paterna, fincada em terras galegas. A segunda, “*Lengua madre*”, aborda o lado materno, assentado em origens andaluzas e castelhanas. A convergência está no casamento de Antón, “*el rojo*”, o pai galego que lhe empresta o amor à mágica terra galega, com Ana, “*la bella*”, a madrileña, que traz para a narradora a biblioteca da literatura em língua espanhola. As duas partes podem ser lidas como relatos autônomos. Cada uma estrutura-se a partir de uma série de fragmentos de memórias recopilados pela narradora numa espécie de memória vicária (Sarlo, 2007:90) da tradição familiar, tecidos a partir das bordas.

O exílio do casal faz com que a narradora nasça na Argentina e ali seja educada numa terceira cultura, entrecruzada com as anteriores. Para os pais trata-se de um interstício entre um país real, a pátria do desterro, e outro abandonado, agora sonhado. Para a narradora, porém, esse limbo em que muitas vezes se suspendem temporalidades e espacialidades convencionais não é um vazio, mas uma terra real com ar em que se pode respirar, onde as árvores afincam suas raízes e onde, enfim, se pode viver. (Lojo, 2011).

O universo galego que emerge da primeira parte, cujo texto, muito próximo dum ensaio sociológico sobre a diáspora galega ao longo dos séculos, trata de recuperar os valores (e também lugares-comuns) dessa cultura e centraliza a linhagem paterna. Mistura elementos míticos e lendários comuns à cultura galega e a história, coletiva, se se pensa no processo da diáspora desse povo ao longo dos séculos, ou individual, se se pensa que o coletivo emerge através dos relatos individuais que narram as aventuras e desventuras dos Lojo e dos Ventoso, os dois ramos de Antón, que cruzam o Atlântico, nos dois sentidos, várias vezes ao longo do século XX.

O eixo paterno, a “*Terra pai*”, assenta numa memória basicamente oral, pilar da cultura galega. O território é habitado por uma forte presença feminina, a dicotomia entre o sagrado e o profano é muito forte. Os núcleos que estruturam as práticas sociais expostas na cenografia literária são a superstição, a magia e a ciência (Broullón, 2013:07). Essa cenografia tem seu ponto alto na montagem de cenários construídos a partir do elemento sensorial, no qual os relatos da memória se sustentam em cores, odores, sons que,

associados a uma forte presença da natureza vital, reconstróem uma Galiza mágica, mais próxima do imaginário literário que da descrição sociológica. De modo paradoxal, o eixo paterno, normalmente associado ao discurso lógico e ao universo racional, que setores da crítica feminista chamam de discurso falocêntrico (Ceia, n.d.), no livro de Lojo articula-se com elementos que simbolicamente se associam ao discurso feminino, como a relação com a terra e a natureza, entre outros. O paratexto que introduz “Terra pai” não vem da tradição oral, mas de uma biblioteca virtual, uma espécie de “memória literária” (Samoyault, 2008: 75), que reúne um repertório literário vivo que constitui o cânone literário galego. São versos clássicos de uma das fundadoras da literatura galega, Rosalía de Castro (1837-1885), de seu livro *Cantares galegos* (1863). Tratam da dolorosa separação da terra sofrida pelo galego da diáspora.

No cruzamento de vozes masculinas e femininas, predominam mulheres fortes no eixo paterno. Maruxa, María Antonia, Rosa Ventoso, são grandes matriarcas que, embora sujeitadas a uma estrutura patriarcal, apresentam diferentes qualidades, dentro de cada história (Broullón, 2013: 07). Elas representam a fortaleza que permite ao pai transmitir à narradora o universo telúrico galego metaforizado em forma de uma árvore, a castanheira que bem poderia ser a “árvore de família” a que se refere o título do romance.

Da mesma forma, também no limite do paradoxal, a linhagem materna, em geral associada ao domínio da terra, está ligada no romance de Lojo ao domínio da língua, o poderoso castelhano, que é a língua do romance, embora em algumas ocasiões surja um entrelugar linguístico, com pequenas amostras de galego, como incrustações no texto em castelhano. O paratexto que abre a segunda parte, a “*Tierra madre*”, são os primeiros quatro versos do *Cantar de Mío Cid*, épico sobre o qual se erige o cânone literário castelhano. É, portanto, uma curiosa inversão do espírito épico de uma genealogia formada por heróis frustrados. Nesse sentido, assim como o pai da narradora, um derrotado da Guerra Civil que tem que cruzar o Atlântico em busca de uma nova pátria, o capitão Calatrava, o bisavô que morreu em Cuba na Guerra de 1898, também é um derrotado. As lágrimas do Cid associam-se desse modo à figura desse capitão andaluz que também atravessou o Atlântico em busca de fama e riqueza, mas que morreu na vergonhosa guerra em que se afundaram os últimos resquícios da Espanha imperial. Dessa mãe, a outra face das “duas Espanhas” que paira sobre o relato, linda como uma atriz dos filmes de Hollywood que tanto admirava e que não suporta a velhice como nunca tinha suportado a pobreza, a narradora

herda a biblioteca e o gosto pela leitura. Uma biblioteca variada da cultura ocidental, cujo núcleo mais importante é formado por obras da literatura espanhola.

Assim, misturando os fios da alta cultura, a biblioteca herdada da mãe castelhana, com os fios da cultura popular, o universo oral que sustenta a cultura galega, herdada do universo paterno, se tece o relato de María Rosa Lojo. Tal tecido, desbordando os limites do público e do privado, do coletivo e do individual, tece, de modo consistente e poético, fragmentos da memória individual e ecos de documentos guardados em diferentes arquivos.

Com um desejo sintetizador e até certo ponto homogeneizador, a narradora de *Árbol de familia* propõe uma espécie de corredor, evidente entre-lugar (Santiago, 1978), zona porosa de fronteiras permeáveis pelas quais se pode mover facilmente (Hanciau, 2005: 133). Trata-se de uma espécie de terceira via, um caminho do meio, uma região de contacto instaurada pelo descentramento que debilita os esquemas considerados até então como centralizadores de unidade, pureza e autenticidade. A mulher toma então a palavra, reorganiza a memória familiar, desconstrói o discurso hegemónico e cria um texto que flui e se transmuta, do romance ao poema, do documento à narrativa, do relato de costumes ao relato maravilhosos, do ensaio à ficção (Lojo, 2011).

2. NIHONJIN OU A ÁRDUA LUTA PARA SE TORNAR BRASILEIRO

Nihonjin, do escritor paranaense Oscar Nakasato, conta a trajetória de três gerações de uma família de imigrantes japoneses e suas peripécias no processo de adoção da nova terra. A história é narrada por um neto de Hideo Inabata, uma espécie de protótipo do imigrante orgulhoso de sua condição nipónica, que desembarca no Brasil nos anos 20 acalentando o sonho de conseguir dinheiro suficiente para voltar à terra natal o mais breve possível. Ao longo da vida, ele enfrenta o árduo trabalho rural, a difícil adaptação em uma terra desconhecida e o conflito com diversos membros da família pouco dispostos a seguirem suas estritas normas de conduta, baseadas em regras ancestrais de um Japão tradicional, pouco adequadas à realidade que os rodeia.

Em sete capítulos, com narrativa em primeira pessoa, na voz de Noboru, neto do patriarca, o romance alterna um “estilo ora objetivo ora poético” (Nagao, n.d.). A memória pessoal junta-se à memória familiar e a imaginação preenche as muitas lacunas que vão surgindo entre os relatos dos mais

velhos. As duas pontas do arco narrativo marcam o período situado entre a saída do Japão do patriarca, num dia indeterminado dos anos 20 do século XX, para concluir, em outro dia também indeterminado, talvez nos anos 90. É quando o narrador, que reconstrói minuciosamente a saga familiar, faz uma visita final ao avô, pouco antes de empreender a viagem de volta, à procura de um homem antigo, rural, talvez o avô, mas também ele próprio, num Japão pós-moderno, com o pretexto de seu trabalho como *dekasegui*.

A temporalidade é escorregadia como a memória: há poucas datas no relato. Acontecimentos históricos servem como marco cronológico: a Segunda Guerra Mundial e a derrota japonesa ou a ditadura militar brasileira dos anos 1960-80, entre outros. Em geral, no entanto, o tempo flui com os acontecimentos cotidianos, recuperados pela rede de memória familiar, seja a do próprio narrador, seja a dos demais membros do clã.

O relato, reconstituição da memória individual, do narrador e de sua família, por metonímia da própria imigração japonesa no Brasil, é formado pela fusão de fragmentos de memória que se juntam para formar a totalidade construída pelo narrador. Aí, passado e presente fundem-se: o presente reelabora o passado que dá sentido ao presente. Nessa reelaboração, o silêncio adquire um papel essencial, uma vez que é “uma ausência necessária para que as lembranças e as aflições pudessem povoar os nossos devãos” (Nakasato, 2011:175). Tais devãos são preenchidos através dos relatos dos vários membros da família ou principalmente através da imaginação do narrador, que cria uma teia de vozes em *mise en abyme* para ocupar tais espaços antes vazios.

Pode-se dizer que o romance de Nakasato realiza, a partir das bordas, com o foco em personagens ex-cêntricos (Hutcheon, 1991), uma leitura da saga da imigração, desmitificando o modelo tradicional, centrado na epopeia heróica com o objetivo de louvar o sacrifício dos imigrantes que mesmo em condições adversas lutaram para manter de pé os valores, em geral ultrapassados, racistas e preconceituosos, daquilo que consideravam ser o pilar da cultura japonesa.

Desse modo, a saga dos Inabata é contada enfocando três personagens silenciados pela tradição familiar que são recuperados pelo relato. Cada qual a seu modo e com sua atuação particular, esses personagens ajudam a corroer o louvado modelo tradicional do imigrante nipônico. Dois deles são mulheres, já *per se* pouco consideradas numa sociedade patriarcal e falocêntrica (Ceia, n.d.) como a cultura japonesa de fortes marcas rurais do século XIX. Apontar a mulher como elemento secundário na cultura japonesa tradicional é quase um lugar comum. Cabia à mulher, naquela

sociedade agrária e rural, um papel secundário de mero coadjuvante, com a função de esposa obediente e trabalhadora e mãe zelosa. Duas das três mulheres que ocupam o protagonismo do romance fogem a esse papel e são extirpadas do núcleo familiar sofrendo seu desprezo. Um terceiro protagonista ousa enfrentar o feroz nacionalismo nipônico e pagará com a vida o desejo de assimilar-se à sociedade brasileira.

Cronologicamente, e também no relato, já que abre o romance, o primeiro personagem excêntrico é Kimie, a primeira esposa de Hideo. Dela pouco se sabe. Frágil e sonhadora, ela procura um espaço próprio, mas não consegue vencer as adversidades. Acaba por morrer de tristeza, por não se adaptar à nova terra nem ao rigor do marido. Morre sonhando ver a neve caindo nos cafezais paulistas. Dela resta apenas uma fotografia apagada e alguns fragmentos narrativos. É evidente que tal personagem deveria ser banido da gloriosa memória da imigração nipônica.

Haruo, o segundo filho, o “diferente que queria ser igual”, não hesita em contrariar os ensinamentos paternos em seu afã de tornar-se um brasileiro. Ele é o núcleo do segundo foco excêntrico do romance. Desde criança nega-se a aceitar a identidade de *nihonjin*, preferindo aproximar-se dos *gaijin*. Os conflitos com o pai serão inúmeros, mas o preço maior de sua opção integracionista é seu assassinato pelos *kachigumes* da *Shindo Renmei*, a Liga do Caminho dos Súditos, logo após o final da Segunda Guerra Mundial. Capítulo pouco lembrado pela historiografia oficial da imigração, esse episódio merece destaque especial no romance, com o relato da morte de Haruo e suas ressonâncias na família. Ao trazer para o centro de seu romance essa “página negra da História da imigração japonesa no Brasil” (Dezem, 2000:28), Nakasato, de acordo com os princípios norteadores do romance histórico contemporâneo, trata de inserir o episódio no núcleo das discussões, contribuindo para superar o tabu que havia relegado ao esquecimento tal episódio. Ao retomar a questão, da forma como a apresenta em *Nihonjin*, o escritor não apenas indica a necessidade de evitar o esquecimento, mas também sinaliza em direção de uma memória apaziguada, uma memória reconciliada, enfim, uma memória feliz. (Ricoeur, 2007: 504)

O foco principal do romance, no entanto, é a história de Sumie, também filha de Hideo e mãe do narrador, que abandona o marido e os filhos pequenos para viver um grande amor com o brasileiro Fernando. Embora a narrativa aponte para o perdão, parece que ninguém na família a perdoou, com exceção de sua mãe Shizue. Fica a impressão de que o rancor pesa mais que o amor e o narrador, embora tenha em seus olhos sua imagem, não consegue superar o trauma de ter sido privado da presença materna

durante a sua infância. E como o avô, tampouco ele toma a iniciativa de ir vê-la, ainda que sofra ao anteciper sua possível morte ...

Esse é o drama da família que, de alguma forma, humaniza e enlaça os dois protagonistas básicos do romance. O velho patriarca faz um balanço da sua vida no qual parecem constar mais derrotas que vitórias. A sua pretensa retidão, sempre seguindo os preceitos de um código rígido, fundado em valores arcaicos, parece ruir diante de tantos dissabores. Seu esforço parece ter sido em vão: não conseguiu voltar à sua terra natal e não conseguiu forjar os seus descendentes de acordo com seus valores.

3. ÁRVORES, ÁLBUNS, CORREDORES: MEMÓRIAS DA MOBILIDADE TRANSCULTURAL

As aparentes dissonâncias, uma vez que as culturas em que se desenvolvem a experiência do desterro e a produção dos romances são diferentes, no entanto, acabam por conduzir a confluências. As vivências são similares e elementos detonadores do processo de reconstrução da memória familiar apresentam vários pontos em comum.

Um desses pontos de confluência é o motivo do álbum familiar que conduz o relato. Em ambos, um narrador, terceira geração de transterrados, organiza o seu texto a partir do tecido de várias vozes antigas, com especial destaque para o papel feminino. Tanto a narradora de *Árbol de familia*, como o narrador de *Nijonjin* conduzem o seu relato a partir da descrição de fotografias antigas de membros das famílias.

O álbum, em termos gerais, é um dispositivo da memória. Nele são arquivadas fotografias que tiveram a pretensão de imortalizar o instante captado pela câmara. Evidentemente, com o passar do tempo, tais fotografias precisam de ser identificadas e ressignificadas. Nesse processo, ambos os narradores se valem dos mais velhos que funcionam como uma espécie de memória vicária, detonada pela imagem da fotografia. Assim, avós, pais, tios e primos ajudam na identificação das imagens amareladas, semiapagadas, preenchendo com o relato as lacunas. E se a fotografia é um importante resquício desse passado perdido, o jogo do olhar ocupa um papel fundamental nos relatos. É através dele que antigas imagens borradas readquirem novos significados e contam outras histórias, até então apagadas e/ou esquecidas. O olhar do narrador incorpora o olhar do outro e presentifica-o no seu relato. A partir do estímulo visual, os relatos povoam-se de cores e texturas, sabores e odores.

Fragmentos de fotografias e relatos dos mais velhos são os vestígios através dos quais os ausentes adquirem vida e povoam o presente da narrativa. As fotos antigas e as histórias explicando e identificando cada uma daquelas imagens amareladas pelo tempo são o elo que estabelece a ligação entre fiapos da memória familiar e que permite criar a história daqueles imigrantes embrutecidos pela dureza da vida cotidiana. São as reminiscências a que se refere Walter Benjamin (1985: 224), que precisam de ser apropriadas para poderem significar. É a forma através da qual a imagem do passado perpassa veloz, para se deixar fixar como “imagem que relampeja irreversível, no momento em que é reconhecido” (*ibidem*).

Dessa forma, adquirem vida, nos relatos, uma série de figuras que a memória familiar já havia apagado. O exemplo de esquecimento proposital mais evidente é o caso de Kimie, a primeira esposa de Hideo, em *Nihonjin*, que o narrador recupera a partir de uma foto remanescente e de informações dadas pelo tio. Partindo daquela imagem quase apagada, ele imagina a personagem e reconstrói sua história. O mesmo ocorre com a narradora de *Árbol de familia*, que reconstrói a imagem de sua tataravó María Antonia, a partir de seu único retrato e da lembrança que seu pai Antón tem da bisavó em sua infância.

O processo repete-se em vários personagens, embora muitos membros das famílias não tenham essa sorte: perdem-se no labirinto do tempo. São histórias que se perdem, indivíduos que são apagados pelo esquecimento, natural ou proposital. É contra esse apagamento que se ergue a voz dos narradores, tratando de extrair do fundo das gavetas ou de obscuros rincões da memória, resquícios convertidos em cacos de memória que serão cuidadosamente colados para reconstruir figuras desconhecidas ou olvidadas.

Outro elemento comum entre os romances é a presença simbólica da árvore, que muito mais que a transposição de um mundo rural e agrícola para uma sociedade urbana industrializada, parece retomar o ciclo que faz reviver a natureza como símbolo de vida. Uma espécie de reintegração ao mítico paraíso perdido, sempre presente no desejo dos imigrantes, mas quase nunca presente em sua realidade.

Em *Árbol de familia*, além da evidente relação, já no título, entre a árvore e o álbum, e a explicitação da tentativa de reconstrução da árvore genealógica através do relato, temos o papel outorgado ao castanheiro. Nos relatos de infância que fazia aos filhos, Antón, o pai da narradora, parte de um castanheiro mítico, uma árvore imensa, de galhos retorcidos, de cujo tronco foram lavrados todos os móveis da casa. Curiosamente, esse personagem, que não acreditava em Deus, acreditava nas árvores e plantou em

sua terra adotiva um castanheiro, que deveria ser uma espécie de árvore-mãe: “*árbol de la vida, árbol del mundo, eje cósmico capaz de abastecer las necesidades de toda una familia y, por extensión, de la especie humana. En sus hojas rejuvenecía, cada primavera, la esperanza del reencuentro*” (Lojo, 2010:102).

O clima da terra adotiva, porém, não era propício e a árvore não produzia bons frutos. Morreu pouco depois da morte de quem a plantou, logo após o regresso da narradora de sua primeira viagem à Galiza, tratando de consolidar um corredor entre os dois universos. Essa castanheira, plantada por Antón longe da terra natal, na distante Argentina, sua nova terra, é uma forma de vencer o espaço trazendo para perto de si a árvore de sua infância, um dos pilares não apenas da economia galega, mas de sua própria cultura. Com a morte de Antón, antes de poder regressar à terra natal, sua função deixa de existir e assim a árvore também morre, depois que a filha, a narradora, refaz no sentido inverso a viagem do pai.

Em *Nihonjin* a árvore está presente de modo diferente. O patriarca Hideo, que também não consegue retornar à sua terra, quase centenário, recebe a visita do neto narrador que se vem despedir uma vez que viaja ao Japão como *dekassegui*. Este encontra-o a podar com golpes firmes os seus bonsais. Essa comunhão entre a natureza e as mãos humanas produz belas flores, sinalizando simbolicamente, e paradoxalmente, se pensamos que as mãos são de um ancião, o ciclo vital da primavera. Por outro lado, reitera o controle da tesoura firme que poda galhos e dirige os brotos de acordo com o desejo humano.

A impossibilidade do retorno do transterrado está presente nos dois romances. Nem Hideo nem Antón (ou Ana) retornam à terra natal. Quando finalmente Franco morre, deixando o caminho aberto para o exilado republicano, as condições económicas da Argentina dos anos setenta e oitenta não permite que eles viajem e Antón morre sem voltar à pátria. Hideo, por sua vez, acaba por entender que sua linhagem está fincada no Brasil e que já não há sentido em tentar retornar a uma terra que, de todos os modos, não já não é a sua. Curiosamente, na página final do romance ele tenta convencer o neto de que a pátria de ambos é o Brasil e não o Japão.

Cabe aos narradores, descendentes dos transterrados, refazerem o caminho dos antepassados. Não se trata da busca da pátria original, que ambos sabem tratar-se de uma construção discursiva, uma vez que Noboru, o narrador de *Nihonjin*, é professor de história e Rosa, a narradora de *Árbol de familia*, é professora de literatura e escritora. Trata-se da reabertura de uma espécie de corredor comunicativo integrando neles as duas culturas. Ambos fazem dessa viagem de volta um dos objetivos principais de sua

vida. Rosa explicita a teoria do corredor, uma espécie de vaso comunicante, tanto ao nível narrativo, como textual. Nesse sentido, no caso de ambos os romances, a realização da viagem à terra dos antepassados e a construção do relato da saga familiar que constitui o romance que o leitor tem diante dos olhos acabam por constituir tal corredor.

Por esse corredor, que vai além das meras espacialidades e temporalidades convencionais, circulam os personagens e também o discurso proposto pelos escritores. Para superar o trauma do desterro e do exílio, é criada uma espécie de memória apaziguada, memória reconciliada, memória feliz (Ricoeur, 2007: 504). Um lugar onde se pode voltar a ser o que foi e que já não é. Recuperar o verdadeiro ser, intocado pelo desengano, pela guerra, pelo trabalho, pela doença e pela morte (Lojo, 2010:133). Enfim, um lugar onde se está e não se está. Tal corredor, que aponta de modo insistente para o além, mas através do qual também se pode fazer o caminho inverso, apenas poderá incorporar a energia inquieta e revisionista do além se tem a força para transformar o presente num lugar expandido e excêntrico de experiência e de aquisição de poder (Hanciau, 2005:136). Isso parecem querer apontar ao leitor os textos de María Rosa Lojo e de Oscar Nakasato.

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IDENTIDADE E MEMÓRIA TRANSCULTURAIS DE JOVENS PORTUGUESES E LUSODESCENDENTES NA ALEMANHA

Yvonne Hendrich

Through its cultural heritage a society becomes visible to itself and to others. Which past becomes evident in that heritage and which values emerge in its identificatory appropriation tell us much about the constitution and tendencies of a society. (Assmann, 1995: 133)

Memória e identidade condicionam-se mutuamente, seja ao nível individual, seja ao nível coletivo. Como a identidade é constituída e sustentada pela memória, existe uma forte necessidade de a concretizar através de pontos de referência históricos e culturais, de modo que a objetivização de cultura assume uma função mnemónica. Em contextos migratórios e, por conseguinte, em ambientes transculturais, os indivíduos são expostos a experiências e representações vinculadas, no mínimo, a duas culturas distintas que interagem social, cultural e linguisticamente – circunstâncias que, inevitavelmente, influenciam as construções identitárias destes membros. De olhos postos nas consequências da emigração portuguesa para a Alemanha, o presente artigo tem por objetivo debruçar-se sobre a seguinte questão: Como é que os jovens portugueses e lusodescendentes nascidos e residentes na Alemanha, nomeadamente da segunda e terceira geração, têm acesso a ambas as memórias coletivas, i.e., à memória coletiva da cultura de origem com a qual têm afinidade familiar e à cultura do país no qual foram criados e socializados, e delas participam de forma consciente? A abordagem apoiar-se-á em alguns depoimentos extraídos de um inquérito efetuado a estudantes universitários com antecedentes migratórios. O breve questionário qualitativo que foi realizado de forma dialogal e escrita com um pequeno grupo de jovens portugueses e lusodescendentes bilíngues de forma dialogal e escrita, não pretendendo ser exaustivo, servirá

apenas como um exemplo subjetivo. No âmbito das minhas aulas de cultura lusófona na Universidade de Johannes Gutenberg, em Mainz, no 1º semestre do ano letivo de 2014/15, foram inquiridos cerca de vinte alunos, entre os dezanove e os quarenta anos (participação feminina e masculina paritária), que frequentaram as unidades curriculares da área dos Estudos Portugueses, do grau de licenciatura.^[1] Em primeiro lugar, é necessário tecer-se algumas considerações introdutórias acerca dos termos de *identidade*, *transculturalidade* e *memória*. Uma vez que se trata de conceitos evidentemente complexos e intensamente debatidos e investigados pelas ciências humanas, as reflexões que se seguem não podem ser consideradas mais do que uma mera aproximação a possíveis definições. Para que possamos utilizar estes conceitos de forma adequada, devemos ter bem presente que lhes é inerente um carácter construtivo-discursivo e (auto-)reflexivo. A identidade representa, indubitavelmente, uma entidade única e inconfundível que, ao mesmo tempo, se mostra plural, complexa, multifacetada. Esta multiplicidade abrange um leque de diversas opções identitárias que se enquadram no mesmo sujeito e que são ativadas conforme as respetivas situações sociais e expectativas (auto-imagem vs. hetero-imagem):

If we feel we have a unified identity (...) it is only because we construct a comforting story or 'narrative of the self' about ourselves (...). The fully unified, completed, secure and coherent identity is a fantasy. Instead, as the systems of meaning and cultural representation multiply, we are confronted by a bewildering, fleeting multiplicity of possible identities, any one of which we could identify with – at least temporarily. (Hall, 1992: 277)

Para a sua configuração, a identidade necessita de estabelecer uma relação dialética e correlativa com a categoria da alteridade, porque é o olhar do “outro” que traz a complementaridade. A falta de plenitude da própria identidade é “preenchida” a partir do nosso exterior, pelas formas através das quais imaginamos ser vistos por outros. A identidade que se constitui de novo em cada ação quotidiana é submetida, ao longo da vida, a um processo de transformação constante, contínuo e dinâmico (Keupp et al. 2008, 214-218; Maalouf, 2001: 9-11):

1 Dado os portugueses e lusodescendentes participantes terem nascido já na Alemanha, a designação de “país de residência” é preferível à da de “país de acolhimento”. Os depoimentos dos estudantes inquiridos serão reproduzidos no original, incluindo lapsos, erros ortográficos e interferências linguísticas. As respostas foram dadas em português e/ou em alemão. Os depoimentos citados em alemão serão acompanhados, nas notas de rodapé, por uma tradução de forma resumida, feita pela autora, mantendo tom e estilo das respostas originais.

Each individual's identity is made up of a number of elements, and these are clearly not restricted to the particulars set down in official records. Of course, for the great majority these factors include allegiance to a religious tradition; to a nationality – sometimes two; to a profession, an institution, or a particular social milieu. (...) A person may feel a more or less strong attachment to a province, a village, a neighborhood, a clan, a professional team or one connected with sport, a group of friends, a union, a company, a parish, a community of people with the same passions, the same sexual preferences, the same physical handicaps, (...). While each of these elements may be found separately in many individuals, the same combination of them is never encountered in different people, and it's this that gives every individual richness and value and makes each human being unique and irreplaceable. (Maalouf, 2001: 10-11)

As perguntas *quem sou eu?* e *quem somos nós?* estão intrinsecamente ligadas, ou seja, a identidade individual e coletiva influenciam-se reciprocamente. Cada indivíduo carrega o sentimento de pertença a um determinado grupo que se caracteriza por pontos de referência culturais em comum (ao nível local, regional ou nacional), a uma comunidade linguística ou a uma entidade que se define por paradigmas estatais-nacionais. Em sociedades migratórias, os membros de perfil plurinacional e cultural dispõem de várias possibilidades identificatórias que podem ser encaradas como enriquecedoras, mas também como um dilema.

“L'identité narrative n'est pas une identité stable sans faille: de même qu'il est possible de composer plusieurs intrigues au sujet des mêmes incidents (...)”, afirma Paul Ricoeur (1985: 358) que introduz o conceito de *identidade narrativa* (*'identité narrative'*):

Il semblait donc plausible de tenir por valable la chaîne suivante d'assertions: la compréhension de soi est une interprétation; l'interprétation de soi, à son tour, trouve dans le récit, parmi d'autres signes et symboles, une médiation privilégiée; cette dernière emprunte à l'histoire autant qu'à la fiction, faisant de l'histoire d'une vie une histoire fictive, ou, si l'on préfère, une fiction historique, entrecroisant le style historiographique des biographies au style romanesque des autobiographies imaginaires. (Ricoeur, 1990: 138)

Neste sentido, a identidade é discursivamente realizada através de narrativas e integra as percepções, avaliações, perspectivas de vida, visões do mundo, etc. do sujeito que é emissor da narrativa: “Narrative identity is a person's internalized and evolving life story, integrating the reconstructed

past and imagined future to provide life with some degree of unity and purpose” (McAdams & McLean, 2013: 233). A textura identitária do sujeito, mas também do coletivo, é construída dentro do quadro espaço-tempo por aquilo que o próprio sujeito (ou coletivo) narra: “La constitution de l’identité narrative, soit d’une personne individuelle, soit d’une communauté historique, était le lieu recherché de cette fusion entre histoire et fiction” (Ricoeur 1985: 295). Portanto, a narrativa identitária ocupa uma posição central entre narrativas históricas e narrativas ficcionais:

It is within the realm of narrative identity, therefore that personality shows its most important and intricate relations to culture and society. (...) Put differently, the stories we conduct to make sense of our live are fundamentally about our struggle to reconcile who we imagine we were, are and might be in our heads and bodies with who we were, are and might be in the social contexts of family, community, the work place, ethnicity, religion, gender, social class, and culture writ large. *The self comes to terms with society through narrative identity.* (McAdams, 2008: 242-243)

Uma vertente de grande relevância para a construção da narrativa identitária é a imprescindível interligação com a noção de cultura. Tende-se a considerar a cultura como um conjunto altamente complexo, sem contornos fixos, que abrange todos os bens, tanto materiais, como imateriais, i.e., os saberes, valores, costumes, as crenças, artes, sobretudo literatura, tradições, leis e habilidades de um grupo. Heterogênea, híbrida, permeável, dinâmica, transgressora, e, não necessariamente limitada a uma determinada nação, a um determinado território ou uma determinada língua, a cultura encontra-se permanentemente em movimento e mudança, exposta a todas as influências imagináveis: “Culture takes diverse forms across time and space. This diversity is embodied in the uniqueness and plurality of the identities of the groups and societies making up humankind” (UNESCO, 2001: 4).

De facto, a cultura manifesta-se em cada indivíduo que interage com outros indivíduos, enquanto entidades e veículos portadores e transmissores dessa cultura. Todos os membros contribuem para a sua formação e preservação, mas também para a sua transmissão e modificação: “Culture [is] not an object to be described, neither is it a unified corpus of symbols and meanings that can be definitively interpreted. Culture is contested, temporal and emergent” (Clifford 1986: 19). O indivíduo é, em princípio, representante não de uma só cultura, mas de várias (sub-)culturas dentro de uma estrutura mais ampla e complexa. São as ações e fricções tanto

endógenas, i.e., dentro da própria cultura, como exógenas, i.e., em interação com outras culturas, que levam a uma ‘cultural hybridization’, como afirma Homi Bhabha (Bhabha 1997: 125), e que, ao desempenhar uma função enriquecedora, mantém as culturas vivas e em desenvolvimento contínuo: “The borderline work of culture demands an encounter with ‘newness’ that is not part of the continuum of past and present. It creates a sense of the new as an insurgent act of cultural translation” (Bhabha, 2004: 10).

Com base na suposição de que as sociedades contemporâneas se caracterizam por uma crescente pluralidade cultural, os estudos teóricos mais recentes reconhecem que as narrativas identitárias se revestem de configurações híbridas e diversificadas. No que diz respeito à conceção do relacionamento entre várias culturas dentro do mesmo espaço, sobretudo em contextos migratórios, constata-se que no discurso público tem vindo a ocorrer uma mudança da *multi-* e *interculturalidade* para a *transculturalidade* (Welsch 1994, 1999). À medida que a multiculturalidade define a existência de múltiplas culturas (supostamente separadas) dentro de uma determinada sociedade, sem que haja qualquer interação ou diálogo, a interculturalidade refere-se à interação e tolerância entre culturas de uma forma recíproca, ao favorecer o seu convívio assente numa relação baseada no respeito pela diversidade e no enriquecimento mútuo. Porém, o conceito da transculturalidade ainda vai mais longe, porque remete para a permeabilidade das culturas conviventes. O prefixo *trans* veicula um processo dinâmico que se enquadra em ideias como ‘trânsito’, ‘troca’, ‘movimento perpétuo’ e ‘circulação’.

Por oposição à ênfase dada pelo multiculturalismo à coexistência de uma pluralidade de culturas, o transculturalismo distingue-se por realçar a mistura das diversas culturas na contemporaneidade. Enquanto o primeiro conceito estabelece fronteiras de reconhecimento e institucionalização das múltiplas culturas que coexistem entre si, o segundo conceito salienta a fluidez dessas fronteiras. (Barroso, 2015: 22)

Como explica Wolfgang Welsch, a transculturalidade proporciona o entrelaçamento de sistemas culturais e, por conseguinte, a produção/evolução de formas híbridas:

Transculturality is, in the first place, a consequence of the *inner differentiation and complexity of modern cultures*. These encompass (...) a number of ways of life and cultures, which also interpenetrate or emerge from one another.

The old homogenizing and separatist idea of cultures has furthermore been surpassed through *cultures' external networking*. Cultures today are extremely interconnected and entangled with each other. (...) The new forms of entanglement are a consequence of migratory processes, as well as of worldwide material and immaterial communications systems and economic interdependencies and dependencies. (...) Cultures today are in general characterized by *hybridization*. (...) The concept of transculturality aims for a multi-meshed and inclusive, not separatist and exclusive understanding of culture. (Welsch, 1999: 196-209)

Em sociedades migratórias, a dimensão transcultural também se manifesta nas competências plurilingues dos descendentes, designadamente no fenómeno do *code-switching*.

A convivência sob várias influências culturais num só espaço em consequência de processos de migração conduz, sem dúvida, a repercussões naquela aglomeração de memórias compartilhadas situadas nos quadros sociais de um grupo ou de uma sociedade que Maurice Halbwachs denominou de *memória coletiva* (Halbwachs, 1925, 1950):

Cependant c'est dans la société que, normalement, l'homme acquiert ses souvenirs, qu'il se les rappelle, qu'il les reconnaît et les localise. (...) C'est en ce sens qu'il existerait une mémoire collective et des cadres sociaux de la mémoire, et c'est dans la mesure où notre pensée individuelle se replace dans ces cadres et participe à cette mémoire qu'elle serait capable de se souvenir. (Halbwachs, [1925] 1994: VI)

Após ter sido introduzido por Halbwachs nos anos vinte do século passado, o conceito tem sido abordado e mais diferenciado a partir dos anos oitenta por Pierre Nora, Paul Ricoeur e Jan Assmann. A memória coletiva revela padrões socioculturais fundamentais e depende de fatores de divulgação como a socialização e comunicação. O meio sociocultural, em que o indivíduo vive, constitui os quadros sociais de referência que condicionam o conteúdo da memória coletiva. Uma vez que cada entidade social de representação coletiva, seja uma comunidade, uma cultura ou uma nação, no sentido de *comunidade imaginada* ('*imagined community*', Anderson 1983: 48-50), dispõe de uma memória coletiva em função de preservar e reproduzir a identidade (ou auto-imagem) desse determinado grupo, a função fulcral da memória coletiva é a função identificatória. Como a representação do passado se realiza apenas em forma de reconstrução, a memória coletiva também se revela subjetiva, seletiva e interpretativa, conforme as

necessidades ideológicas do respetivo presente. A relação interdependente entre memória individual e memória coletiva é inegável:

Nous dirions volontiers que chaque mémoire individuelle est un point de vue sur la mémoire collective, que ce point de vue change suivant la place que j'y occupe, et que cette place elle-même change suivant les relations que j'entretiens avec d'autres milieux. (...) Il y aurait donc lieu de distinguer en effet deux mémoires, qu'on appellerait, si l'on veut, l'une intérieure ou interne, l'autre extérieure, ou bien l'une mémoire personnelle, l'autre mémoire sociale. Nous dirions plus exactement encore: mémoire autobiographique et mémoire historique. La première s'aiderait de la seconde, puisque après tout l'histoire de notre vie fait partie de l'histoire en général. Mais la seconde serait, naturellement, bien plus étendue que la première. D'autre part, elle ne nous représenterait le passé que sous une forme résumée et schématique, tandis que la mémoire de notre vie nous en présenterait un tableau bien plus continu et plus dense. (Halbwachs, [1950] 1997: 94-95, 99, 118)

As representações sociais acerca da memória coletiva ultrapassam os limites históricos, amparando-se nos valores construídos pelos discursos normativos: "The binding character of the knowledge preserved in cultural memory has two aspects: the *formative* one in its educative, civilizing, and humanizing functions and the *normative* one in its function of providing rules of conduct" (Assmann, 1995: 132). Não é necessário fazer parte de uma determinada história (ou seja, daquilo que é considerada uma representação reconstruída de história) para se apropriar dela.

A memória coletiva manifesta-se através de pontos – simbolicamente carregados – de cristalização e de referência ou, nas palavras de Pierre Nora (1992), *lugares de memória* ('*lieux de mémoire*'). Estes pontos referenciais permitem uma concretização ou materialização simbólica do passado que apenas existe como reconstrução seletiva e, muitas vezes, idealizante. No sentido metafórico e mais amplo, os lugares de memória vão além de lugares físicos e geograficamente concretos (monumentos, estátuas, artefactos), incluindo também referências imateriais, i.e., acontecimentos históricos, mitos fundadores, personalidades, textos, tradições, rituais, etc. A memória coletiva, como mecanismo comum de lembrança mas também de esquecimento, seleciona no passado o que é considerado importante para a sociedade e organiza esse conjunto de referências segundo um sistema de valores. Esses pontos referenciais idealizados, quando não mesmo sacralizados, têm, em primeiro lugar, uma função

simbólica. Submetida a mudanças sociais, visões e à respetiva perspetiva nacional, a memória coletiva mostra-se vulnerável a uma possível instrumentalização político-ideológica. No fundo, a memória coletiva narra uma espécie de história-ficção discursiva de acordo com determinados pressupostos discursivo-ideológicos que visa construir uma visão oficial do passado, p.ex., com a intenção de legitimar a agenda política coeva de um estado, além de preservar a continuidade e estabilidade de uma determinada sociedade:

Memory is neither about the objective remembering of factual events nor about the storage of a fixed past. It is a process of selection, interpretation, and permanent reconstruction, which comprises both remembering and forgetting. Officially or unofficially, intentionally or not, the construction of collective memory is always an attempt to convey a particular point of view. Due to its potential for legitimization of present-day and future agendas, collective memories have been a privileged arena for the struggle for specific meanings as well as their contestation. Memory constitutes a vital anchor for identity processes; rather than a static and solid anchor, it is a malleable and fluid one. (Cabecinhas & Abadia, 2013: 5)

Depois da parte teórica no que diz respeito aos conceitos de cultura e memória, passaremos à parte empírica. A seguir serão apresentados alguns resultados do dito inquérito em relação à consciência histórica, em contextos migratórios e transculturais, nos quais o indivíduo é exposto a várias influências, representações e ideologias, nomeadamente da cultura de origem e do país de residência.

Conforme demonstram as seguintes afirmações de alguns dos jovens portugueses inquiridos, neste campo de tensão cultural, o sentimento de pertença e de identificação oscila, independentemente da proveniência familiar e do passaporte, entre a sociedade/cultura de residência e a da sociedade de origem, todavia afirmando afinidades e estabelecendo conexões com ambas as culturas:

Zum einen sehe ich mich ganz klar als Portugiese, weil ich nur die portugiesische Staatsbürgerschaft besitze, Portugiesisch von klein auf gelernt habe und meine beiden Elternteile auch Portugiesen sind. Zum anderen bin ich auch mit der deutschen Kultur aufgewachsen, die teilweise auch meinen Charakter mitgeprägt hat. Manchmal ist es schwer zu sagen als was man sich fühlt. Wenn man als Portugiese in Portugal ist und man sagt, dass man in Deutschland

lebt fühlt man sich manchmal nicht als „richtiger“ Portugiese anerkannt und wiederum wenn man in Deutschland ist, ist man einfach der „Ausländer“.^[2] (Português, 26 anos)

Sinto-me português. Sinto tanto afinidades com a cidade alemã onde cresci eu como sinto com a cidade onde cresceram os meus pais. Acho que sinto assim porque tenho um interesse pessoal de conhecer o país natal dos meus pais, de conhecer a família em Portugal e de aprender o idioma português. Por isso sinto uma afinidade com Portugal. Mas tanto sinto-me bem em Portugal como me sinto na Alemanha. Dum ponto da vista objetivo e racional, a gente talvez diria que alguém como eu, quer dizer o filho dum emigrante, tanto é português como é alemão. Mas esta questão da identidade é uma questão muito subjetiva. Para mim, quer dizer dum ponto de vista emocional e subjetivo, eu sou e sinto-me português. (Português, 25 anos)

Os meus pais são portugueses, mas agora tenho dupla nacionalidade. Sinto-me nem só alemã, nem só portuguesa. Há tratos de carácter que descrevia mais alemães (p.ex. impaciência) ou mais portuguesas (p.ex. recetividade), ou de quais sou convencida que as aprendi por causa de ser nascida aqui (típicos para alemães) ou então através da educação „multicultural“ (típicos portugueses ou diferente de amigos ou familiares alemães). Acho que também é uma questão de com quem comparar. Na Alemanha sinto que tenho tratos diferentes dos alemães, mas em Portugal sinto que também não sou igual aos portugueses (p.ex, sinto-me mais calorosa que a majoridade dos alemães, mas em Portugal realiso que em algumas situações sou ou reagi mais distanciada ou reservada, ou mais „alemã“, que os outros portugueses). (Portuguesa, 27 anos)

De acordo com estas declarações, a memória destes jovens é influenciada pelo local em que residem, pelos espaços em que transitam e pelas constelações familiares de cariz sociocultural. Podem-se observar diferentes opções, conforme os diferentes contextos sociais, que permitem aos jovens obter os conhecimentos necessários a uma reconstrução da história coletiva (Georgi, 2003: 93), nomeadamente através da orientação pelas tradições históricas do país de residência e pelas tradições do país de origem. No âmbito do processo de

2 Por um lado sinto-me claramente como português, porque tenho a nacionalidade portuguesa, aprendi a falar português desde pequeno e os meus pais são portugueses. Por outro lado, cresci também com a cultura alemã que marcou o meu caráter. Às vezes é difícil dizer como se sentir. Em Portugal, como português a viver na Alemanha, às vezes não me sinto aceite como português “verdadeiro” e, na Alemanha sou visto como “estrangeiro”. (Traduzido pela autora)

apropriação das reconstruções históricas encontram-se imagens, perspectivas e valorizações distintas e muitas vezes concorrentes de acontecimentos históricos que podem ser, por um lado, irrefletidamente divulgadas, ou por outro lado problematizadas. O questionamento e o desenvolvimento de sentido crítico na reflexão sobre as narrativas históricas e culturais criam oportunidades para interações, entrelaçamentos, fusões (Georgi & Ohliger, 2009: 9-10).

Segundo os depoimentos dos portugueses e lusodescendentes supramencionados, o acesso (o *in-put*) e a instrução quanto à história e à memória das duas culturas são realizados através do sistema de educação (ensino básico-secundário e superior), dos diversos meios de comunicação e da influência familiar e interpessoal. Distinguem-se, portanto, uma narrativa oficial e uma narrativa privada (Georgi, 2008; Georgi & Ohliger, 2009: 11):

A HISTÓRIA NACIONAL OFICIAL

- do país de acolhimento/residência, neste caso, a Alemanha, i.e., a memória e a narrativa públicas da maioria; transmitidas, nomeadamente, pelo ensino escolar e pelos meios de comunicação;
- do país de origem dos imigrantes/descendentes, neste caso, Portugal, i.e., a memória e a narrativa públicas da minoria, transmitidas pelo ensino escolar português no âmbito de aulas de língua de herança e pelos meios de comunicação portugueses (internet, televisão portuguesa).

HISTÓRIAS TRANSMITIDAS NO CONTEXTO FAMILIAR E DE AMIGOS

- do país de acolhimento/residência, a Alemanha, i.e., a memória e a narrativa privadas da maioria; transmitidas pelo convívio de laços adquiridos durante a socialização (escola, faculdade, ambiente de amigos, redes sociais);
- do país de origem dos imigrantes/descendentes, i.e., a memória e a narrativa privadas da minoria, transmitidas pelo convívio com os familiares, no seio da família, e amigos portugueses na Alemanha e fora (redes sociais).

Os inquiridos revelaram um bom conhecimento da história contemporânea alemã, o que se deve ao facto de todos terem frequentado o ensino alemão até à entrada na universidade. À pergunta sobre os acontecimentos ou lugares históricos mais importantes associados à Alemanha, os pontos

de referência mais indicados eram a queda do muro de Berlim, o nazismo e a Segunda Guerra Mundial:

Nationalsozialismus, Berliner Mauer – weil dies das ist, was in der Schulzeit am meisten behandelt wird, von der Mittelstufe bis zur Oberstufe das Hauptthema.^[3] (Português, 25 anos)

Penso na queda do muro de Berlim que recentemente comemorou o seu vigésimo quinto aniversário. Foi o início da reunificação alemã. Além disso mostrou que uma revolução também se pode passar de maneira pacífica. (Português, 26 anos)

A Unificação da Alemanha em 1990, pela emoção com a qual a vivi. (Português, 39 anos)

Das Dritte Reich: weil es die Mentalität vieler Deutscher ganz stark prägt und sich auf das Denken in allen Lebensbereichen auswirkt. West-Berlin, [...] auf dem Weg zum Fall der Mauer und somit das Ende der DDR als diktatorischer Staat. Die Weimarer Republik: weil hier der Grundstein für das heutige Bildungssystem in Deutschland gelegt wurde.^[4] (Português, 28 anos)

Adolf Hitler und der Nationalsozialismus: weil er zur Personalisierung des Bösen für Deutschland geworden ist und der Schrecken der Nation ist und der Grund ist, warum sich viele Deutsche für ihre Vergangenheit schämen.^[5] (Português, 27 anos)

Historisch und politisch am bedeutsamsten ist für mich die Befreiung aus den Fängen des Nationalsozialismus und eine damit einhergehende ständige Auseinandersetzung mit der geschichtlichen Vergangenheit sowie Erinnerung an begangene Gräueltaten, um diese nicht zu vergessen und die Werte der Demokratie und Freiheit zu erhalten und zu festigen. Ebenfalls wichtig: die Gründung und

3 O nacional-socialismo, o muro de Berlim – porque são os temas principais tratados no ensino secundário na Alemanha. (Traduzido pela autora)

4 O “Terceiro Reich”, porque marcou fortemente a mentalidade de muitos alemães e continua a influenciar todo o pensamento. Berlim ocidental, [...] no caminho da queda do muro e o fim da RDA como estado ditatorial. A República de Weimar que fundou a base do atual sistema educativo alemão. (Traduzido pela autora)

5 Adolf Hitler e o nacional-socialismo, porque se tornou na personificação do mal e horror para a nação para a Alemanha. É a razão pela qual muitos alemães sentem vergonha do passado. (Traduzido pela autora)

Weiterentwicklung des Sozialstaates Deutschlands mit dem Wirtschaftswunder in den 50ern und die endgültige Beendigung des diktatorischen Kontrollstaates der DDR mit dem Fall der Berliner Mauer.^[6] (Portuguesa, 38)

Relativamente à história portuguesa, os estudantes destacaram D. Afonso Henriques como mito fundador, os Descobrimentos e a Revolução dos Cravos, a 25 de abril de 1974:

Guimarães – *aqui nasceu Portugal* und D. Alfonso Henriques, Vasco da Gama und die Nelkenrevolution, das ist ebenfalls das, was einem am öftesten von Portugal erzählt wird.^[7] (Português, 25 anos)

Associo a Revolução dos Cravos a Portugal porque liberou o país dum regime autoritário e iniciou um processo para democratizar o país. Também foi uma revolução que se passou em geral de forma pacífica. (Português, 26 anos)

O 25 de Abril de 1974, pela carga simbólica que também tem na *diáspora*. (Português, 39 anos)

Salazar: weil er in Portugal von vielen Leuten immer noch als der große Staatsmann verehrt wird, der er so sicherlich niemals war.^[8] (Português, 27 anos)

A reconquista da península ibérica por forças cristãs: porque marca o início das fronteiras de o que será Portugal. O terramoto de Lisboa (1755): porque foi um evento que não só teve um efeito traumático em Portugal mas também pela Europa fora. Os descobrimentos: porque fazem parte de um tempo em que Portugal era ainda um Império. O salazarismo: porque influenciou muitos portugueses até hoje. A educação durante do estado novo parece me ser a causa de um olhar romântico para a colonização portuguesa. (Português, 28 anos)

6 Para mim, ao nível político e histórico, o mais relevante é a libertação da Alemanha do nacional-socialismo, e no período seguinte a necessidade de enfrentar constantemente o passado histórico e lembrar das barbaridades cometidas para não as deixar cair em esquecimento e para manter e fortalecer os valores da democracia e da liberdade. Também importante: a fundação da Alemanha como estado social com o “milagre económico” nos anos 50 e o fim do estado ditatorial da RDA com a queda do muro de Berlim. (Traduzido pela autora)

7 Guimarães, *aqui nasceu Portugal*, e D. Afonso Henriques, Vasco da Gama e a Revolução dos Cravos – é aquilo que nos contam geralmente sobre Portugal. (Traduzido pela autora)

8 Salazar porque continua a ser glorificado por muitas pessoas como grande homem de Estado, embora, certamente, nunca o tenha sido.

Die vielzitierte „*Cidade Berço*“, die Stadt Guimarães – wo der spätere, erste König von Portugal D. Afonso Henriques geboren wurde und in der Schlacht von São Mamede (1128) gegen die eigene Mutter rebellierte, und den zunehmenden Einfluss fremder Herzogtümer zurückdrängte. Dies war für die Bildung des Nationalbewusstseins maßgeblich. [...] - Grandola, das Dorf im Alentejo, wird im Signallied für den Ausbruch der Nelkenrevolution von 1974 besungen.^[9] (Português, 40 anos)

D. Afonso Henriques (Gründung Portugals), die Reconquista, die Entdeckungsfahrten (hier ist v.a. Vasco da Gama zu nennen), und natürlich die Nelkenrevolution als friedliche Beendigung eines diktatorischen Kontrollstaates.^[10] (Portuguesa, 38 anos)

Por aquilo que se pode observar, sobretudo no diálogo e no debate com os estudantes inquiridos, eles conseguiram adquirir e desenvolver uma consciência crítica e uma capacidade de reflexão perante as reconstruções e narrativas coletivas do passado, certamente devido ao facto de todos os participantes terem passado pelo processo de formação académica:

Was ich über Deutschland weiß, ist vor allem dem Geschichtsunterricht im Gymnasium geschuldet. Und natürlich dem Einfluss der Medien. Was ich über Portugal weiß, verdanke ich vor allem meinem familiären Umfeld. Aber dadurch, dass ich mich während des Studiums mit Geschichte und Gesellschaft Portugals auseinandersetze, gewinne ich einen anderen Blick darauf. Früher habe ich mich damit nicht so kritisch auseinandergesetzt. (...) Ob ich mich eher portugiesisch oder deutsch fühle? Ich fühle mich als beides. Oft stoße ich an Punkte in beiden Ländern mit denen ich mich stark identifizieren kann und andere die ich ablehne. Bestimmte Verhaltensmuster führe ich auf mein Aufwachsen zwischen zwei Kulturen zurück. (...) Auf der anderen Seite verstört mich das „provinzielle“ in den portugiesischen Medien. Auch merke ich bei Unterhaltungen mit portugiesischen Freunden von mir, dass das 3. Reich und seine Folgen auf mich einen sehr starken Einfluss hatte. Als Resultat

9 A frequentemente referenciada “cidade berço”, a cidade de Guimarães, onde nasceu D. Afonso Henriques, o primeiro rei de Portugal que se revoltou contra a própria mãe na batalha de São Mamede (1128) e conseguiu travar a influência crescente de outros condados. Foi muito importante para a construção da consciência nacional. [...] Grândola, a canção sobre a aldeia alentejana como senha do início da Revolução dos Cravos de 1974. (Traduzido pela autora)

10 D. Afonso Henriques (fundação de Portugal), a Reconquista, os Descobrimentos (sobretudo, Vasco da Gama), e, claro, a Revolução dos Cravos que pôs fim, de forma pacífica, a um estado ditatorial. (Traduzido pela autora)

dessen fühle ich mich mit der Vorstellungen einen Diktator mit faschistischen Zügen (Salazar) zu rechtfertigen sehr unwohl.^[11] (Português, 28 anos)

Wenn man sich in einem Land als weitestgehend freies mitbestimmendes Mitglied der Gesellschaft fühlt, dann bedeutet das zumindest, dass man sich mit teilweise mit ihr identifizieren kann und sich dazugehörig fühlt. Ich fühle mich als beides, (...) sodass ich bei nicht wahrheitsgemäßen oder verzerrten Aussagen über Deutschland oder Portugal bereit bin, mich fast schon verpflichtet fühle, gegenüber beiden Ländern in die Verteidigung und Offensive gleichzeitig zu gehen.^[12] (Portuguesa, 38 anos)

Embora os estudantes que participaram no questionário tenham revelado uma capacidade crítica e reflexiva perante a sua própria consciência histórica de perfil híbrido e transcultural que se compõe de peças e elementos de diferentes memórias coletivas, é de notar uma certa tendência emotiva quanto ao sentimento da pertença. Num balanço interpretativo das afirmações aqui citadas a propósito de referências identitárias, é possível verificar que, apesar da fusão cultural, há uma afinidade emocional e afetiva ligeiramente mais forte em relação a Portugal, na qual transparece a memória “herdada” (com um inegável sentimento de saudade) dos pais e membros da família e que muitas vezes os próprios jovens têm dificuldade em explicar de forma racional.

Sinto-me tanto portuguesa como alemã, apesar de ter nascido e vivido a maior parte da minha vida na Alemanha. Talvez seja mesmo alemã, mas, embora assim com algum “tempero” português. (Portuguesa, 25 anos)

11 Aquilo que sei sobre a Alemanha devo-o sobretudo às aulas de história no ensino secundário. E à influência mediática. Aquilo que sei sobre Portugal devo sobretudo ao meu ambiente familiar. Mas como sou confrontada com a história e com a sociedade portuguesas, começo a ganhar outra perspetiva. Antigamente não refletia sobre estes assuntos de forma tão crítica. (...) Se me sinto português ou alemão? Sinto-me tanto português como alemão. Em ambas as culturas há aspetos com os quais me identifico e outros que rejeito. Certos padrões de comportamento mostram-se como resultado de ter crescido entre duas culturas diferentes. (...). Por outro lado, irrita-me o “caráter provinciano” dos *media* e da comunicação social em Portugal. Nas conversas com amigos portugueses noto a forte influência das consequências do “Terceiro Reich”. Por isso, não me sinto muito confortável com a ideia de legitimar um ditador de traços fascistas (Salazar). (Traduzido pela autora)

12 Uma vez que uma pessoa se sente como um membro livre e participativo da sociedade, torna-se possível a identificação, pelo menos parcial, com esta sociedade e o desenvolvimento de um sentimento de pertença. (...) Sinto-me tanto portuguesa como alemã (...), de modo que, em caso de ocorrência de afirmações falsas ou distorcidas sobre Portugal ou sobre a Alemanha, sinto-me quase obrigada a intervir ofensivamente em defesa dos dois países. (Traduzido pela autora)

Ich bin meines Erachtens in vollem Umfang beides. (...) Aber sehr typisch portugiesisch bin ich, wenn meine starke Emotionalität und das Gefühl für den Zusammenhalt der Familie zum Ausdruck kommt.^[13] (Português, 40 anos)

Ich fühle mich als Deutsche, aber auch als Portugiesin, da in Portugal meine Wurzeln liegen, ich jedoch in Deutschland aufgewachsen bin. Portugal bedeutet für mich vor allem die Familie – *alma e coração*. Dies lässt sich meiner Meinung nach nicht rational erklären.^[14] (Portuguesa, 24 anos)

No fundo, os portugueses e lusodescendents inquiridos que cresceram na Alemanha identificam-se com uma construção idealizada (talvez até utópica) do país de origem que conhecem sobretudo através da narrativa privada: “uma suposta portugalidade vivida no exterior” (Português, 39 anos). No entanto, é crucial que os indivíduos estejam conscientes disso:

Sinto tanto afinidades com a cidade alemã onde eu cresci como sinto com a cidade onde cresceram os meus pais. Acho que sinto assim porque tenho esse interesse pessoal de conhecer o país natal dos meus pais, de conhecer a família em Portugal e de aprender o idioma português. Por isso sinto uma afinidade com Portugal. Mas tanto sinto-me bem em Portugal como me sinto na Alemanha. Dum ponto da vista objetivo e racional, sou tanto português como alemão. Mas dum ponto da vista emocional e subjetivo, sinto-me mais português que alemão. (Português, 26 anos)

CONSIDERAÇÕES FINAIS

Como o presente artigo tentou mostrar, os jovens portugueses e lusodescendentes inquiridos, num contexto transcultural, revelaram não só possuir conhecimentos profundos, mas também uma consciência crítica perante as memórias coletivas das culturas às quais pertencem. Segundo o questionário, além da memória privada (ambiente familiar) da minoria portuguesa, os estudantes obtiveram acesso às interpretações ‘oficiais’ coletivas do passado, tanto da maioria alemã (através do ensino escolar, da socialização e dos meios de comunicação), como da minoria portuguesa (através do ensino da língua

13 Na minha opinião sou tanto português como alemão. (...) Mas considero-me tipicamente português na expressão da minha emotividade e no meu forte sentido de união familiar. (Traduzido pela autora)

14 Sinto-me alemã, mas também portuguesa, porque tenho as minhas raízes em Portugal, mas cresci na Alemanha. Portugal significa para mim sobretudo a família – alma e coração. Na minha opinião, não há nenhuma explicação racional para isto. (Traduzido pela autora)

materna e dos meios de comunicação). Mas para garantir que possam desenvolver tais competências e capacidades, é imprescindível confrontá-los constantemente com as respetivas informações e questões. É fundamental que este tipo de *in-put* seja intelectualmente incentivado e proporcionado quer através das instituições de ensino, quer por via do ambiente familiar.

Porém, constata-se que as fronteiras entre a narrativa oficial e a privada muitas vezes desvanecem, sobretudo em relação a Portugal, devido a uma carga emocional mais intensa. Embora a maioria dos participantes se tivessem definido como ancorados em ambas as culturas, i.e., de origem e do país em que vivem ('mistura', sentir-se 'tanto... como'), não se pode negar uma inclinação mais acentuada – caso haja a necessidade de optar – por Portugal: justificável, obviamente, pela forte influência do contexto familiar e, provavelmente, também pela conotação negativa da história alemã da primeira metade do século XX.

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"THE OTHER BULGARIA".

THE WORLD AND US FROM AN EMIGRANT'S POINT OF VIEW

Neli Peycheva

0. INTRODUCTION

Resignation is not something difficult. Almost 90% of Bulgarians are masters of resignation. According to the fourth wave of European Value Study in 2008 Bulgarians were the saddest nation in Europe.^[1] Are melancholy and resignation the main substance of the Bulgarian national character? This question has prompted a look for counter-cases, of course, not within the country's borders, but outside, abroad, where the Bulgarians have already demonstrated some other traits of the national character other than resignation and where they have founded a new, second homeland. At the same time we may observe a tendency never seen before to such extent: a huge wave of migration towards Western Europe. According to *Newsweek*, Bulgaria will be the country with the highest population decline in 2050. Against this background I pose the question: What must have changed in the Bulgarian mentality, so that a considerable part of the Bulgarian emigrants have not become resigned, furthermore, they have developed characteristics in spite of the joyless recent past and even more joyless present, leading towards a multiplying of the identity, a belief in one's own potential and optimism? This has provoked my interest in the subject of the Bulgarian emigrants as narrators and in narration as a genre, which is the object of my study.

1 See Atlas of European Values:
<http://www.atlasofeuropeanvalues.eu/new/europa-regio2.php?c2=wellbeing&map%5B%5D=&map%5B%5D=&map%5B%5D=&map%5B%5D=&map%5B%5D=8&map%5B%5D=&button=>

1. THE SUBJECT OF “THE OTHER BULGARIA”

Sunday, 2.22.2009. A young Bulgarian girl in Helsinki. Well-educated, active, an optimist. That is what is being introduced to the audience by the episode of the documentary TV series “The Other Bulgaria”, which was broadcast over a period of almost 10 years from 1999 until 2009, every Sunday at the same time on the Bulgarian TV channel BTV - an opinion platform on which Bulgarian emigrants scattered throughout the world could meet online and exchange their points of view. The actual contact was realized, however, between them and the audience in front of the flat screen. Thereby the interviewer played the role of mediator, whose aim was to raise the curtain a little bit and bring the foreign country closer to the audience, to allow those waiting for the next episode to have a deeper insight into the motives for emigration, by shedding light on some of the Bulgarian emigrants.

The series, moderated by the journalist Georgi Toshev, was a popular television format where in single documentaries stories of emigrants were told. Similar to other media formats, it focused on emigration as a social phenomenon that has gained extremely serious proportions in the case of Bulgaria.

The format is characterized by a high degree of veracity, provided by the first-person narrator's perspective as well as by the principle of seriality. Each episode is dedicated to a separate case, country or region, and includes up to a maximum of two stories. The plot remains the same in all the episodes: an interviewer from Bulgaria visits a Bulgarian emigrant in her/his new surroundings at the new place of residence and accompanies her/him on a tour across the city providing insight into the key highlights from the cultural, political or economic life and presenting cultural objects and historical sites.

The new environment is the background against which a personal story is being told in the form of a confession. It involves, very often from the viewpoint of a simultaneously running comparison, fragments of the self-constructed home image as well as attributions ascribed to the Bulgarians either distinguishing them from the others, or just the opposite – bringing them closer to them. These narratives are in almost all cases emotive, but they also give an expression of the quality of being able to adapt to a foreign milieu accordingly to the new circumstances, so they additionally contain a sober assessment, made on one hand by the geographic distance to the original, “first homeland” as well as by the fact that all reported cases actually

represent stories of people who have already settled in the new location and integrated successfully in a professional, as well as private capacity and who are not planning to return back to their country of origin. Since the foreign country has become for them a second home, they are already considered as "insiders". It is about cases of actual and not only medially produced emigration. That is the main reason for my interest in the narration as a genre, which is the object of my study.

2. THE FIRST-PERSON NARRATIVE

The first-person singular narrative is a fabric, woven of home and foreign images, on which could be seen a stereotypical description of what is considered well-known and what is considered strange. Since the duration of the narrative is limited, it is about keywords, outlines, blocks of words and images, parts of a skeleton, through which the main perspectives are being expressed. Stereotyping begins unconsciously when encountering something which appears to be strange. At the same time, however, some of the attributions are being inaugurated by direct individual contact, thus establishing hypotheses and presenting new perspectives.

3. THE NARRATOR PROFILE

The narrator profile incorporates many desirable characteristics such as adaptability, open-mindedness, high tolerance, flexibility, and good education, which suggest a good basis for a wider definition to what is being recognized and defined as strange. Therefore, the series aims to represent those Bulgarians who live abroad and appear in many aspects as successful, and thus to communicate a positive image of Bulgaria. So these are the clever ones, the purposeful ones, those who were willing to give up the convenience at the expense of the challenge and despite the arising difficulties to settle beyond the borders of the homeland, and to prevail. During the course of the series not only are the positive sides of emigration being transmitted, but also conflict situations and negative effects. Each shared narrative is a personal story and therefore individually dyed.

4. JOURNALISTS AND THE CONCEPT OF SUCCESS

“The movement outside leads to a movement inside”^[2] notes the author and moderator of the series Georgi Toshev in an interview for the magazine *Bela* in 2012. For Toshev, travelling engenders an extension of the interior of the human. Thus, the journalist explains his insatiable urge to move, to be constantly travelling in order to enrich his emotional memory by adding new impressions.

Despite skepticism and negativism having spread for hundreds of years among the Bulgarians, Toshev focuses his camera on people who feel successful abroad. On the other hand, he also respects the right of those forced to migrate driven by hopelessness, not to stand in front of his camera: they had dived into emigration completely unprepared and failed. Toshev’s attention was drawn, therefore, by the group of migrants who could adapt to the new location.

But what provoked his curiosity about the group of successful people? Toshev’s great interest in the world is what makes him cross continents, fight difficulties and meet people who might change the pessimistic outlook of the Bulgarians by their positivism and successful life. These successful people could serve as a model for the others to manage their existence in harmony with themselves.

First, he admits that the term “success” can be defined very differently by each individual. For some people it could mean having a job, to be able to support their families, for others - the family itself, to be well educated etc. Toshev described as successful those who pursue a concrete goal and are able to feel comfortable in the place where they have settled. This type of person deeply inspired him; he found their example contagious and motivating because it serves as a counterpoint to the Bulgarian skepticism. His idea of success differs from the concept of the newly rich who “own four cars, who are adorned from head to toe with gold chains and waste money in the pub.” (*Ibidem*) That concept leads to emigration and resignation among those who stayed in the homeland in a state of inner isolation and withdrawal from all social areas. It also outlines clearly the trend of confronting the profane and redefining success.

So, the protagonists in the film do not speak in plain text about success, but portray this idea via a sense of “being at the right place”. Along with that, they subtly irradiate success, satisfaction and happiness by the things they have already achieved in life.

2 See Stankova, 2012.

5. THE TV SERIES AND ITS GENRE

The series established in 1999 and broadcast on the Bulgarian television channel BTV until 2008 by the journalist Georgi Toshev enjoyed amazing popularity. Toshev was both scriptwriter and moderator. In the last year of its existence (2009) the series "The Other Bulgaria" was moderated by Peter Meltev.

Toshev's idea to represent real people, their feelings and authentic self-esteem, without appealing to them to return to Bulgaria, deserves to be put under the spotlight.

Toshev defines the genre as *reality documentary* as he relies on the effectiveness of the oral documents that "exceed any artistic imagination" (*ibidem*), according to his words. The television dramaturgy is drawn from life itself. The journalist traveled to more than 80 countries and provided hundreds of Bulgarian emigrants with the possibility to take the floor.

The film series, created as part of a project whose aim was to create a bridge between the Bulgarian emigrants, is fragmentary, fragile, short-lived; it captures just a moment of someone's life at a certain place which would otherwise be completely different if that person moved away. The reasoning for that could be found in the main characters: those, who had already crossed the borders once, would not be afraid to do it again. Their home is everywhere.

The TV series does not provide a fully scientific documentary view of the problem; it only represents a mosaic of subjectively coloured narratives. They represent personal fragments from the present and memories, short stories, of Bulgarians scattered across five continents. To achieve that, the journalist Georgi Toshev had to literally "set off into the world", because travelling brings people into direct contact with each other and reveals a new perspective of perception.

6. THE INTERVIEW

The interview is used as a form of negotiation. It diminishes the distance between protagonist and audience and creates closeness. Involved in the personal story of the narrator, the viewer feels the absence of the interviewer, who often stays behind the camera. Therefore, this form of interview is similar to the model of action-oriented, outward monologue^[3] and acts as a narrative impulse. Questions are asked either explicitly or they arise

3 See Ballhaus, 2003, p. 34.

following subsequent responses, which lead to a story - the real story of leaving home and settling in a new place. The protagonist is simultaneously a *flâneur*, narrator and commentator of what has been perceived and experienced. A subtle interpreter can also be the filmmaker, through the design and assembly of the individual scenes. Whether or not certain interpretations/statements of filmed scenes or people have already been discussed before shooting is not mentioned in the episodes. The trend of inserting real statements of the protagonists in the ethnographic film instead of using spoken or written commentaries in order to achieve a higher impact and authenticity is underlined by Engelbrecht and Kruger. (70)

7. REASONS FOR EMIGRATION

Reasons for emigration such as unemployment, the need for better education, new professional opportunities or personal motives such as a partner living in the target country are among the most frequently cited. Therefore, the reasons for emigration can be separated into rational-pragmatic and emotional ones.

Different lifestyles lead to different socio-economically conditioned participation opportunities in social life. The change in the social status, caused by poverty, high percentage of unemployment in Bulgaria, vague future prospects and lack of professional implementation options could be pointed out as an external/pragmatic motive that has sparked the migration wave from Bulgaria towards Europe. In the vortex of the postmodern society, however, vertical displacements, links and contradictions are often observed. An increased number of choices contributes to that trend. Thus, it becomes more difficult to make assessments on the social life of participants based only on external status symbols. Although social and economic motives such as rising poverty in the country of origin and better career prospects in the destination country can be considered as important social emigration motives in the case of Bulgaria, intersubjective emotional reasons are those which are mostly underlined, as social practices are always being provoked by inward-oriented preferences.

Emigration attracts not only the parts of the population which are unemployed, but also those which are well educated, which enjoy a high reputation in their homeland and also have a job. In that case, the meaningful existence and the quality of life and fulfillment are questioned in addition to purely pragmatic intersubjective concepts being involved. Among

them, emigration reasons such as good career opportunities and better quality of life in the target country stand out.

The first motives for emigration focuses on migrants who are hoping to reach a higher standard of life, including all of its components such as high consumption, good infrastructure, social institutions and social security – the main features of a functioning social state. The second group of motives is based on individual dreams of personal self-realization using personal resources. Meeting one's future partner in the home country and then following them to the destination country is not an uncommon scenario in a world where borders disappear and travelling opportunities emerge. Job or holiday travel, international business activities and the tourism boom favor shorter or longer stays in a foreign country and can also bring people together. As a result, one of the partners often dares to step into the unknown.

Isolation from the rest of the world over the years turns out to be the hardest problem the emigrants had to fight in their homeland Bulgaria. They emigrated in order to get over the state of isolation. Describing their new state as emigrants they use key words such as *freedom*, *human beings* and *European citizens*.

8. THE CONCEPT OF HOMELAND

Home place/homeland is a multidimensional concept which owes its complexity not only to the semantics of the word itself, but also to the fact that it is influenced and differentiated by the individual, personal, stories of the members of a community, which are stored in the collective cultural memory. The nuances in the meaning of the term *homeland* in the German and Bulgarian language therefore have some semantic differences.

In Cultural Studies, the concept of *homeland/home site* is detached from its historical roots and associated with options of searching for identity. By overcoming the geographical boundaries and changing of sites, by sinking into a new cultural environment, new opportunities for shared identities emerge. This in no way undermines the source culture as a result, but rather leads to the intersection of various forms of culture. The newly arisen local and global identities cannot be classified by old standards. Those *global* identities are mixtures, hybrid formations and at the same time a result of the search for new identity.

In summary, the following forms of home place/homeland can be differentiated:

- The geographical location where one is born, the place of origin;
- The immigrants' idea of origins, often evoking nostalgia or manifesting itself in a fabrication of memories;
- The place where one currently is and where one feels comfortable;
- The imaginary but also real home that exists within us and is connected to specific time and place: it is presented as a concept, an idea, a feeling of safety and security, which one carries within oneself;
- The country of destination, home as the "second /new home";
- Homeland in its plural form: the parallel transnational existence of the original and the second home, both with the same value.

In the film series that aired in 2009, with reference to Bulgaria as a place of origin – *first homeland* – of the migrants, the audience can mainly come across stereotypical descriptions: Bulgaria with its natural beauty, the Bulgarian folk music, the traditional Bulgarian cuisine (Baniza, Rakia) or the Bulgarian customs are mentioned. The meaning of Bulgaria is therefore reduced in part of the stories to the Bulgarian traditions, offering a stereotypical image of the land. Homeland is also associated with the Bulgarian language, with childhood, with the past. But for other migrants it is related to the present, to the new life in the present moment in the second homeland. The place of origin appears very often only as a geographical place within the meaning of a birthplace, thus the importance of Bulgaria in its wider sense has been reduced for the majority of emigrants.

All these facets of the homeland concept in the stories of the interviewed Bulgarian emigrants, all of them between 20 and 50 years old, have turned the term itself into a diffuse, unstable, changeable, fragile and not always clearly perceptible one. Many of the Bulgarian emigrants interviewed confess that they feel "displaced" in a way, as if they are in a state of a permanent movement, constantly roaming between two nationalities, and the majority of them even define themselves as people who do not belong to any nationality, as supranational personalities, as free people.

8. CONCLUSION

From the considerations made above it can be concluded that cultural identity is perceived as a free, dynamic self-positioning concept. The Bulgarian emigrants in the TV series "The Other Bulgaria" are optimistic, successful, open-minded, and flexible. They argue the stereotypical point of view

VIKTOR NAVORSKI AND SIR ALFRED. THE LIMITS OF CONSCIOUSNESS ON THE BORDER OF CHAOS

Paulo Alexandre e Castro

What is a man but a congress of nations?
Ralph Waldo Emerson

The Terminal, it is not just another sweet movie, a family movie that people watch on a couch on a rainy weekend instead of going to a mall. It is not just another movie with a melodramatic effect so characteristic of Spielberg's style, like *Jaws* (1975), *E.T. the Extra-terrestrial* (1982), *Schindler's List* (1993), *Jurassic Park* (1993), *Saving Private Ryan* (1998) or *War of the Worlds* (2005), in which we see this kind of mixture between innocence and revenge, a continuous fight between good and evil, the two forces violently contending, where good always wins.^[1] This movie is quite different.

In fact, *The Terminal* (2004) is an American comedy-drama film directed by Steven Spielberg that raises important and interesting questions from the point of view of philosophical reflexion. From the different issues that arise, in particular concerning the moral and ethical questions concerning sympathy, compassion, having political or judicial authority to curtail or restrict individual freedom, it is the issues around identity, space and time that are to be particularly addressed with relevance to this movie.

1 "In his most famous films (*E.T.* [1982], *Jurassic Park* [1993], *Jaws* [1975]), virtuous protagonists flee from, and eventually triumph over, terrifying villains. In *E.T.*, an alien from outer space, assisted by a brave boy, escapes from a variety of faceless adult officials (most of the time we see only their legs and flashlights). In *Jaws*, three men fight an enormous shark. In *Jurassic Park*, two children successfully escape the jaws of a T-Rex and a pair of velociraptors. Asked to describe his 2005 film *War of the Worlds*, Spielberg told an interviewer: "It's about a family trying to survive and stay together, and they are surrounded by the most epically horrendous events you could possibly imagine". The formula for many of Spielberg's most famous films is innocence in great jeopardy. Normally, innocence is represented by children and their families" (Kowalski, 2008: 7-8).

One of the questions that arises after seeing the film is the status of the person. This does not mean the person's status from a legal point of view, which is not the purpose of this essay, but from a philosophical point of view - seeking to determine the status of the person represented by Viktor Navorski. In this sense, and as we know, the identity of the person coincides with what the person is, and in the case of Navorski that should be taken as a philosophical postulate in the way Locke thinks of it.

A person, Locke tells us, is a "thinking intelligent being, that has reason and reflection, and can consider itself as itself, the same thinking thing in different times and places". (Locke, 1975: 335) This may seem a mere definition of person, but it actually has important implications for examining the character Viktor Navorski (which is the name of the character played by Tom Hanks). Forgetting for the moment that "reason" is a concept present in all the philosophical tradition from Aristotle to Descartes, one of those implications must be for the notion of reflection. We should say that one of the characteristics of identity (as an attribute for persons) is that we are aware through our thoughts, that is, subjectively (thoughts, perceptions, and experiences, counting as our own). As Locke puts it, it is "impossible for anyone to perceive, without perceiving, that he does perceive". (*Ibidem*) Consciousness, Locke's preferred term for this second-order awareness - which he notes "always accompanies thinking" (*Ibidem*) - is what allows people to recognize themselves as selves. The Navorski that took a plane in Krakozhia is the same Navorski reflecting on the impossibility of leaving the airport. It is the same person who will use cross-cultural amnesia as a safety device or mechanism for his identity and time (as we shall see).

In fact, Navorski can take here a dual role: he is the character-subject (subjectivity) and the character that represents the (somehow) lost people of hyper-modernity (as Gilles Lipovetsky pointed out). Individuals living in different rhythms, on different levels of perception and illusion may come together in their lives. In this sense, they live unexpected experiences concerning life, like the one experienced by Viktor Navorski in the John F. Kennedy terminal airport. But we must make a brief presentation of the film's plot to understand what is in question.

The film narrates the story of a man - Viktor Navorski -, who travels to New York. During the trip his country, the fictitious Krakozhia, undergoes a revolutionary coup and his passport is no longer valid. Navorski is at NY airport and does not understand hardly any word of English and cannot, therefore, understand what is happening in his country. It is only after a few minutes of the film that we see a man crying, which is when Viktor sees the

news on the television screen about Krakozhia. This news ends abruptly and suddenly a commercial begins with the announcement of a boat saying “would you like to have a boat of twenty seven metres long?” Probably many viewers do not take these few seconds of the film to recognize this subtle change, but it is precisely here where lies much of the meaning of hyper-modernity. The advertising in the movie is functioning as a metaphor for the hyper-power, hyper-consumption, hyper-narcissism that rules the world these days. This is more than just the commodity fetishism that Marx had already spoken of; this is the void of meaning, the emptiness of human meaning for life. And also, this reminds us about the indifference in the world we live in. But there is more. In another episode, after a few minutes, we see the character again watching the news and something like the following is said ...“since the 80s and 90s Krakozhia has lived in an instable period since it independence.”

This is not only a mere melodramatic effect to create sympathy with Viktor Navorski, this is also the vision of the western countries – or should we say, the vision of the United States – about the ancient countries of the Soviet Union; it is the perspective that the media disseminated of those countries, and the difficult transition to a democratic regime. We should all look, for this purpose, at the fabulous documentary by Boris Malagurski, “The weight of chains”, about the ex-Yugoslavia.

So, how can we understand the feelings of the character Navorski? Or even better, how can we understand the phenomenon of subjectivity in modern society through *The Terminal*? First of all, we can see, more than just a metaphor of the *homo viator*, a metaphor of the void installed in the hearts of contemporary men's lives. It seems that man survives in a mechanical way, travelling, landing, doing business, travelling, getting home, travelling, etc., that is, living like a zombie, living a non-life. In fact, the permanent battle for success, the everlasting purpose to achieve goals, creates a man full of loneliness, and at the same time, a man who lives in a pursuit of happiness. As Lipovetsky reminds us, this is the time of the happiness paradox, that is, never have men had so much and felt so unhappy, which means that man never had a time like this where he can have everything, where he is able to have and do everything, but still does not feel happy.

The movie shows in a general way this kind of man, but it also shows Viktor Navorski, who is the man who wants to pursue a (romantic) dream, that we only understand at the end of the movie, when the purpose of the trip to New York is revealed: to have the signature of one of his father's idols. But as we see happen to all romantic men, reality insists on imposing itself.

When Viktor Navorski is prevented from entering the country, it is not only the lesson that romantic people must come down to earth, it is also the hard lesson of the American dream that fades away, at least for those who do not meet the United States' requirements.

According to what has been said so far, can subjectivity have a place in this scenario? Can a place like an airport be somehow familiar, be something that we might even call home. That is, and using the perspective of Marc Augé, how can a non-place become a place? There is no intrinsic meaning to look for, and yet, in *The Terminal* under the right conditions, even non-places can become places. How can this be? The apparent contradiction is placed according to the premise that a place is not arbitrary and that it is somehow symbolically permanent. However, nothing is hermeneutically ruined that cannot (re)establish itself, and places are no longer as stable as they used to be. We must understand that Marc Augé is also telling us about a major phenomenon that he calls supermodernity or over-modernity (75-79). The author declared the airport terminal to be some kind of quintessential non-place, since according to him, it is a place which has exhausted its symbolic force, crushed by the emergency of meaning that points to a bigger outside; after all this non-place is a suspension point, a perennial deferral in travel, a place of transit.^[2] However, at the same time these non-places are places where people cohabit without living together, and they create a kind of uninformed and unconscious contract where everybody is polite. For instance, we can imagine the same scenario when people go to a church in a foreign country and share the same space, the same statement of belief and feel that they are among nice people.

For our character, as it is for most of us, an airport is at the same time a no-man's-land and the most familiar place (or at least they are designed as such, like Iyer says),^[3] a strange mixture of time and place, where eve-

2 John Urry tell us of some criticism about Marc Augé's application of the concept of non-places to airports: "First, even airspaces are less distinct as places and share many characteristics in common, there are various ways in which airspaces are nevertheless different from each other and where they are not characterized solely by a 'solitary contractuality'. Second, this claim that airports are non-places rests upon a far too sedentarist notion of place as though 'places' are given and unchanging and share no characteristics with airspaces. Rather what is striking is how places are increasingly like airports. (...) Airspaces are places of material organization and considerable social complexity. They are not simply 'non-places'". (Urry, 2007: 147)

3 "A modern airport is based on the assumption that everyone's from somewhere else, and so in need of something he can recognize to make him feel at home; it becomes, therefore, an anthology of generic places – the shopping mall, the food court, the hotel lobby – which bear the same relation to life, perhaps, that Muzak does to music. There are discos and dental clinics and karaoke bars in airports today; there are peep shows and go-carts tracks and interdenominational

rything is in the right place so that we can feel a familiar connection with space, a public space, like in a mall, or as pointed out by Sudjic:

The airport, alongside the museum, and the shopping mall, is one of the key public spaces that serve to define the contemporary city [...]. It is a surrogate for the public realm, one that offers at least the illusion of a meeting place in which the rich and poor are in closer proximity than almost anywhere else in an increasingly economically segregated world. (Sudjic, 1999: 182)

We can see through this quote what is also in the movie, the miscellaneous people that cross an airport, creating a kind of global space, where time is the measure. In this era where everything changes so fast – we should not forget the studies of Richard Sennet, Paul Virillio, Gilles Lipovetsky, Zygmunt Bauman among others –, we must recognize that stability is a very useful illusion. In fact, Anthony Giddens, Niklas Luhmann, George Balantier and specially Ullrich Beck speak of the individuation process as a risk society component. Thus we must say that it is ironic and disturbing that faced with such “acceleration times”, before the vertigo of this super-modernity, the caption that appears on the movie poster, just below the title is: “life is waiting”. It is like a reminder to tell viewers of the film that beyond any airport terminal there is a life that awaits us.

Vicktor Navorski is retained in John F. Kennedy Airport for nine months. If this fiction is credible, reality far surpasses it. In 1988, the Iranian Merhan Karimi Nasser, a refugee seeking entry into Europe, after being persecuted and tortured by the Iranian secret police, Savak. On November 16, he presents himself at the counter of British Airways in Paris destined for London, without any document, claiming that it has been stolen and boards the plane. Arriving in London, he is immediately returned to Paris. He cannot get into any of these two countries and ends up living in Terminal 1 of Charles De Gaulle Airport for eighteen years. Nasser would be known as Sir Alfred. The coincidence between fiction and reality can be understood by the comprehension of consciousness. Between fiction and reality, we feel that the limits of consciousness of these characters are echoed at the very border of amnesia. The question to ask is “How?”

Amnesia could be the instrument, the legal instrument that Navorski and Sir Alfred can use. The definition of Amnesia (from Greek ἀμνησία from ἀ-meaning “without” and μνήμη memory), also known as amnesic syndrome,

chapels. Dallas-Fort Worth International is larger than Manhattan, and Istanbul has a special terminal just to accommodate ‘shuttle shoppers’ from the former Soviet Union” (Iyer, 2001: 43).

is a deficit in memory caused by brain damage, disease, or psychological trauma. Amnesia can also be caused temporarily by the use of various sedatives and hypnotic drugs. Essentially, amnesia is loss of memory. However, with this sort of knowledge a person may use it for his benefit as Navorski does. Let us take a closer look at this essential point to understand how amnesia can be used as a legal instrument. According to the definition of person provided by John Locke, of using reflection as a way of being aware of oneself in different times and places, knowing that in the original latin *persona* is *personare*, that is, a type of mask made to resonate the voice of actor, Navorski is able to use this intelligence resource in his favor. He can “forget” or be “aware” of legislation, like Sir Alfred or other refugees when detained for a long time.

As we all know, there is in all airports a so called international area which allows the travelers to circulate without any restriction. In this area, identity and nationality can be set in suspension. One of the resources that Sir Alfred had, and also the character Navorski, was to use this area and at the same time to use some sort of amnesia to justify the understanding of laws of the countries where they wanted to go. At the same time, they use memory as an instrument of salvation. We are not talking about religious salvation but about the use that memory can provide to give meaning to every day at the airport. What is curious here is that we see some kind of reverse Stockholm syndrome happening. Stockholm syndrome or capture-bonding, is a psychological phenomenon in which hostages express empathy and sympathy and have positive feelings toward their captors, sometimes to the point of defending and identifying with the captors. Here, at the airport where Navorski and Sir Alfred are kept – and if we may say, they are the hostages, it is curious to observe how the people that work at the airport become captured by them.

In an essay called *The Global Soul* by Pico Iyer, which is about the time he spent in the Los Angeles International Airport, Iyer writes about the place as having all the amenities of a modern metropolis, a mysterious space filled with individuals from all cultures tingling with hopes and dreams, where people have out-of-the-body experiences brought on by jet lag and where strangers reach out to each other with the camaraderie of exhausted travelers with jangled nerves. It is an environment that often strikes us as a mirror of modern ills including bureaucracy, fast-food, consumerism, and free-floating rage that frequently explodes out of impatience.

Yet in the modern world, which I take to be an International Empire, the sense of home is not just divided, but scattered across the planet, and in the

absence of any center at all, people find themselves at sea. Our ads sing of Planet Reebok and Planet Hollywood – even my monthly telephone bill in Japan speaks of “One World One Company” – yet none of us necessarily feels united on a deeper level.

Reflecting on all this, I began to wonder whether a new kind of being might not be coming to light – a citizen of this International Empire – made up of fusions (and confusions) we had not seen before: a “Global Soul” in a less exalted (and more intimate, more vexed) sense than the Emersonian one. (Iyer, 2001: 18)

It is as if we find a world inside the world, as if we can see in the Airport all the people in the world. There, thousands of people are crossing the world^[4] from different countries, with different cultures and languages, and where people feel exposed, vulnerable, and anxious, like Navorski did in the first few hours. Iyer says that all these people are part of the “global soul” where everywhere is made up of everywhere else. As he said,

And what complicates the confusions of the Global Soul is that, as fast as we are moving around the world, the world is moving around us; it is not just the individual but the globe with which we’re interacting that seems to be in constant flux. So even the man who never leaves home may feel that home is leaving him, as parents, children, lovers scatter around the map, taking pieces of him wherever they go (idem, 27).

According to Iyer, the borders between here and there are collapsing but strangely enough more people than ever have no real sense of home. It is hard to accept this position, especially if you think about the thousands of refugees and therefore, about the way they are forced to leave their home and country. Moreover, Iyer is making his analyses of frequent passengers, and therefore it seems he does not think that if everybody is flying, there is always a point of return to home. Even those people who are always flying somewhere, have a place or a non-place (maybe a hotel or a friend’s place) that they can call home.

In the film, and as in the particular case of Sir Alfred, the dialectic game between being aware and not knowing, that is, being conscious or suffering

4 In the book by John Urry, 2007, he predicted some passenger numbers; however it did not count the mass of refugees from Syria, Iraq and Libya: “The scale of this travelling is immense. It is predicted that by 2010 there will be at least one billion legal international arrivals each year (compared with 25 million in 1950); there are four million air passengers each day; at any one time 360,000 passengers are at any time in flight above the United States, equivalent to a substantial city; 31 million refugees roam the globe”. (Urry, 2007: 131)

from amnesia, can be a strategy to deal with the constraints of law (even with the consequences of law). Imagine the following circumstances: if a refugee comes from a dictatorial country and he knows that there is no agreement between that country and the country in which he wants to enter (both countries do not have any kind of diplomatic relations), perhaps the best strategy is to suffer from amnesia. The lack of memory can give him the opportunity of starting a new life. Or maybe he should just recall what happened to Sir Alfred.

We all know that the world is in constant flux. It is not just about globalization, about climate change, but also about the constant change of politicians and politics that is creating different social and economic situations. It is as if the world were shrinking and yet we cannot feel cut off from its unity. Narvorski and Sir Alfred are part of the “Global Soul” and at the same time part of the place that they call home, even if due to that they have to be on the border of chaos, in a non-place full of transcultural amnesia.

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RECALLING THE POETICS AND POLITICS OF THE EXILIC AND MIGRANT OTHER IN SOME ENGLISH WOMEN'S POETRY

Paula Alexandra Guimarães

*Fain would I know if distance renders
Relief or comfort to her woe.
(C. Brontë)*

In her work on *The Artistry of Exile* (2013), Jane Stabler explains that “[i]t seems to have taken about five centuries for the concept of exile in English to grow from an externally imposed sentence into a form of identity” (5) and, I would add, into collective memory as well. Although famous exiles such as Ovid and Dante^[1] can be interpreted both as historical events and as ‘states of mind’, she stresses that “the *figurative* meaning of the noun ‘exile’ to describe a banished person only emerged in the Romantic period” (5) as such, when identification with historical and literary outcasts began to serve both political and aesthetic purposes.^[2] Therefore, literal and figurative dimensions of the term are inextricably related in the poets analysed here, in whose texts the imaginative conditions of the categories of exile, refugee, expatriate and émigré overlap and run into each other. Furthermore, the power and role of women in national histories, whether of Britain or of other European countries, also preoccupy many of the poets analysed here; as Andrew Ashfield states, they “remain unique examples of how historical realities such as the invasion threats of the 1790s and the drama of the expanding empire in the 1830s” combined with their own domestic and artistic concerns (Ashfield, 1995: xv).

Moral fracturing issues, and deep questioning, emerge in poems that explore national identity, as those of Charlotte Smith in the context

1 Ovid, the Roman poet who lived during the reign of Augustus, was sent by the later into exile in a remote province of the Black Sea. Dante Alighieri (c.1265-1321), a major Italian poet, was also condemned to perpetual exile for political reasons.

2 For example, the *Oxford English Dictionary* dates the term ‘exile’ to Oliver Goldsmith’s vision of displaced peasants in his *The Deserted Village* (1770). And it took not a long time for Romantics such as Southey, Wordsworth and Byron to strategically appropriate the term in works such as *Botany Bay Eclogues*, *Lyrical Ballads* and *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*, respectively.

of the Revolutionary Wars and those of Felicia Hemans in the context of the Napoleonic Wars. So numerous are the poems about the carnage and bloodshed of military conflict, and the related fears of displacement, that one senses a common criticism on the part of women poets such as Joanna Baillie, Anna Laetitia Barbauld, Charlotte Smith and Felicia Hemans. For example, Barbauld's *1811*, in heroic couplets, "hauntingly conveys a civilian society crumbling under the pressure of the Peninsular War" and "Hemans incessantly returns to the ethics of battle and to the place of women in a warring society" (Armstrong, 1996: xxviii). In the same way, the Crimean War with its slaughter at Balaclava and Sebastopol prompted eloquent poems by Adelaide Anne Procter and Louisa Shore; as Armstrong emphasises, "the 'heart' empowers because it enables the woman poet to mount a critique of masculine values." (*Ibidem*)

Given the large number of poems about Italian nationalism later in the same century, one wonders if this passionate cause was an expression of these women's anxieties about an implicitly oppressive and violently masculine British nation-state. Barrett Browning repeatedly turns to Italy as a motherland that must be liberated from tyranny, while others like Harriet King celebrate the expatriate heroes of the Risorgimento.^[3] Conversely, on the face of imperial and colonial rule, some poets give way to a consideration of different cultural identities; Eliza Cook celebrates national power in her "Englishman" poem (1838), at the same time that she shows a radical awareness of cultural difference in "Song of the Red Indian" (1845), urging respect for Native American customs, beliefs and rituals through the figure of the Other. Identification with this other, namely in terms of the oppression and the subordination of women, made slavery a pre-eminent theme in poets such as A.L. Barbauld, H.M. Williams, Hannah More, Letitia Elizabeth Landon and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, as poems such as More's "The Negro Woman's Lamentation" (1800) and E.B. Browning's "The Runaway Slave at Pilgrim's Point" may testify.

Katharina Rennhak has remarked (2006) that Charlotte Smith frequently adopts tropes of exile, homelessness and wandering to depict the situation of women in late eighteenth-century English society. Exile is used in her texts (both the novels and the poems) as a strategy to imagine communities, i.e., to partake in the political project of outlining reformed models of society. Smith's long poems *The Emigrants* (1793) and *Beachy Head*

3 During the whole nineteenth century, in fact, Italy emerges as a major favourite location for intellectual exiles: not just the Byron-Shelley circle itself during the Romantic period but also the Browning-Rossetti group in the Victorian period.

(1807) “explore personal isolation against the background of larger themes of the exile of classes and the conflict of nations [...] they do chart possibilities of engaging private/public themes different from those of the main romantic canon” (Ashfield: 33). The first poem has as its subject the plight of the displaced French loyalists during the Reign of Terror in France; if their circumstances were widely familiar in England, they were even more intimately so to Charlotte Smith herself because “she had offered refuge to some of these displaced clergy and aristocrats in her own home” (Behrendt, 2010: 164). She focuses on these émigrés’ powerlessness to redress their situation and suggests that “individual freedom and dignity vanishes when subjected to the indiscriminating instruments of institutional power” (164).

[...] beholding the unhappy lot
Of the lorn Exiles; who, amid the storms
Of wild disastrous Anarchy, are thrown,
Like shipwreck'd sufferers, on England's coast,
[...] (II, ll: 9-12) ^[4]

Her earlier poem “The Female Exile” (1792) had been precisely suggested by the sight of a French lady and her children wandering the Kent shore: “[...] she beholds them, with / anguish, / Now wand'ers with her on a once hostile / soil, / Perhaps doomed for life in chill penury to languish, / Or abject dependence, or soul-crushing toil” (ll. 25-8). Besides being profoundly anti-war, “emphasising at every point how the disruption of individual families parallels the larger disruption of civilized society on both sides of the English Channel” (Behrendt: 165), *The Emigrants* “seeks to create an internationalist consciousness of the need for reform in the political conduct of nations” (165). ^[5] The poet expresses the hope that the emigrants’ painful exile may finally lead to the extirpation of their reciprocal hatred. But, despite their ideological differences, she describes their condition and her own as nearly reflexive: “I mourn your sorrows; for I too have known / Involuntary exile” (I, ll: 155-6).

The figure of the exilic and migrant other is also metaphorically represented in *Beachy Head*, where Smith compares it not only to the romantic “lone Hermit” but also to herself and her recollections of a happier past: “I

4 All the quoted excerpts from Charlotte Smith's poetry are taken from Andrew Ashfield's anthology (1995) cited in the bibliography.

5 In Smith's novel *The Banished Man* (1794), for example, her characters seem to achieve a transnational, transcultural state through international intermarriage and multilingualism.

was condemned, / A guiltless exile, silently to sigh, / While Memory, with faithful pencil, drew / The contrast" (ll. 6-9). Often viewed as a fragmentary revision of the previous poem, this text suggests that only by accepting Smith's 'geological map' might the French emigrants themselves – now internationals or transnationals – "regain / Their native country". Jane Stabler reminds us that Smith "was in an 'involuntary exile' in Normandy between 1784 and 1785 to escape imprisonment with her husband for debt" and that her "detachment from the land she calls her own would increase, ushering in a more radical sort of alienation" (2013: 6). The migrants' "compounded loss of language, country and means threatens their very sense of cultural and personal identity" (Curran, 1988: 201), and critics, such as Stuart Curran, see Smith's fascination with statelessness as quite consistent with her psychological condition as a woman writer.^[6]

In her important chapter on "States of Exile", Tricia Lootens rightly observes that "nineteenth-century transatlantic culture (...) remains haunted by traumas of exile, be it the forced internal exiles of American Indian nations within the US or the enslavement of African Americans" (Lootens, 2008: 14). She affirms that "even within the overt terms of Plymouth Rock landing celebrations, homecoming *is* exile" (15). And she adds that "Plymouth Rock [is] a crucial site within the development of what we have come to term the 'poetess tradition'" (*ibidem*). In this context, Felicia Hemans's "Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in New England" (1825) is the most popular of poems on the migration or exile of the British in the American continent, having served as well to 'spiritualise' and 'memorialise' the colonial origins of the United States.^[7] She does enhance the sacrifice which is implicit in the dislocation ("The heavy night hung dark") and the exilic condition: "Why had they come to wither there, / Away from their childhood's land?" (ll. 27-8).^[8] In fact, and according to Lootens, the poem "parades as well as dissembles economic, expansionist, and imperial ambitions" (Lootens, 2008: 16). Yet, it is also a "gendered patriotic work" as the Pilgrim Mothers take centre stage, helping the poetess "to perform her patriotic role of pointing to heaven as the nation's ultimate home ground" (*idem*: 17). This suggests that the heavenly project "had clearly transatlantic

6 Curran states as well that "The constant theme of Charlotte Smith's *Elegiac Sonnets* is of rootless exile." (200).

7 The poem was first published in the *New Monthly Magazine* (1825), then in the *League* (Boston, 1826). It went through several editions until the 1880s, and was often printed as a gift-book with engravings.

8 All the quoted lines from Felicia Hemans are taken from Susan Wolfson's edition of her works (2000) listed in the bibliography.

national implications", in that "after death, all earthly exiles ... will comprise a transnational spiritual family" – an Anglo-American Christian or Protestant one, Lootens concludes (cf. 18-19).

Still in the context of the early European migrations, Hemans's extended dramatic monologue *The Forest Sanctuary* (1826), in Spenserian stanzas, seems to fit the traditional quest motif of the epic as it follows the thought processes of a sixteenth-century Spanish Protestant forced to emigrate to the forest of North America.^[9] Her emphasis now is clearly on the "fugitive", who escapes "in silence and in fear" (l: 231), taking us close to the author's own private grief. It is the imagined or *remembered* voices of the three deceased women he has known in the past that serve to fortify his spiritual strength during his exile from his beloved homeland. The "voices of [his] homeland" that sustain him in the wilderness of the New World are, in fact, the blessed household voices belonging to the women he has been closest to throughout his life, including his wife Leonor. For Hemans, these voices bring to the Spaniard's mind both joyful and painful memories of his homeland and his childhood home.

Indeed, Felicia Hemans and Letitia Landon confronted and experienced personally the negative effects of empire; separation, loss and exile are thus recurring themes in their respective poems and correspondence.^[10] Hemans's initial *Tales and Historic Scenes* (1819), as G. Kelly notes, "present these conflicts from a Romantic feminist viewpoint, showing the deaths of individuals, communities, nations, and empires in the cycles of 'masculine' history" (2002: 25). Her major work, *Records of Woman* (1828), develops the form and themes of those earlier attempts, showing the costs of "masculine" history (as conflict, war and destruction) to individuals, especially wives and mothers, and emphasising the heroism and sacrifice of women in the face of history. The chronicle, as Susan Wolfson observes, "was meant to elaborate a general plight of gender – of, in effect, "wrongs" that were readable as transnational, trans-cultural, trans-historical" (2000: xv). Although Hemans distrusts Romanticism's *wanderlust*, as a liberal and a republican, she is interested in the *image* of woman as a Romantic exile of some kind: not so much a nostalgic wanderer but more a victim of imperial history and its Promethean male deeds. Letitia Landon seemed to embody this same

9 The poem is written within the context of the Spanish Inquisition, which executed the protagonist's two sisters in an *auto de fé* and led to his wife's death on the passage out to America, where he arrives with his son.

10 Members of Hemans' family, namely her brothers and husband, were involved in the military actions during the Peninsular Wars.

image of victim of male history. She died a mysterious death shortly after writing a lyric called “Night at Sea” (1838), a monologue by the poet’s *persona* on her way to Africa, leaving behind her career as popular poetess and social life in London, to start a respected married life in a foreign land.^[11] The poem seems to express the poet’s bitter feelings at the end of her life and, responding as it does to Hemans’ “A Parting Song” about the sorrow of separating from her friends, represents a communion of female recollections about separation and exile.

In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson has pointed to a connection between the history of the nation and individual biography, in which both are seen as narratives of identity and personhood (1983: 203). Yet, the lyric “I” is recurrently concerned with questions of the location or dislocation of the self. And, in the personal lyric, the self is either home or away, facing internal or external division, and always in search of an identity or a chosen location. In the poetry of the Brontë sisters, the conflicts of the nation (whether they are presented in a real or a fictionalised manner) are reflected in the conflicts of the self, and the word “home” – a metaphor for both place and being – assumes a nuance of different but related meanings: from the familiar hearth or the exalted homeland to the poet’s mind, Nature or God’s bosom. In “Exile as Romance and as Tragedy”, Thomas Pavel argues that “a loss of homeland sometimes affects the characters of (...) romance and tragedy, the former specializing in metaphorical exile, the latter occasionally focusing on exile proper” (Suleiman, 1998: 28). As avid readers of both genres, the Brontës absorbed the Neo-Platonist vision of earthly life as ‘exile’ that informs these plots as a whole.^[12] But they also looked at the character of the political exile with interest, namely the exiled monarchs (male and female), whose predicaments of power they explored poetically: dramatic loss of life, demotion from power, and captivity.^[13] In its narrow sense, a political banishment (most famously, Napoleon’s), exile in its broad sense designates every kind of estrangement or displacement,

11 Landon sent the poem to the editor of *The New Monthly Magazine* from Africa, after arriving there in October 1838.

12 The ‘plots’ that the Brontës read most avidly were in the form of Walter Scott’s novels and William Shakespeare’s tragedies.

13 Many of the characters created by the Brontës, especially in the collaborative Gondal sagas of Emily and Anne Brontë, are frequently subject to banishment from their native land due to political and/or amorous rivalry and strife. These outcast rebels (usually ‘Republicans’) either literally rot away in forlorn dungeons or pine over their doomed fates in isolated isles, yearning for their dear ones and the fields of home.

from the physical and geographical to the spiritual – the latter being frequently equated with death in the Brontëan lyric.

For example, as Charlotte Brontë switches the perspective from external to internal worlds, she often engages in a visionary trance, through which she escapes from the English school of drudgery or forced exile and ventures out to Africa, “a far and bright continent.” In figuring this space of colonial vision, Brontë seems to underline the extent to which her occupation of that imaginative space is a strategy of survival. The theme of exile (or the exilic character proper), besides being a haunting subject in the poetry of the Brontës, seems thus to constitute also a fit image for the woman poet's personal predicament. One of the compositions which best express female displacement and the role of memory is Emily Brontë's “Lines by Claudia”, a 1839 poem, in which the woman speaker's own country could be England or, alternatively, Gondal. This depends on whether the reader interprets Claudia as being a real Englishwoman banished during the Interregnum (for being a supporter of Charles I) or as an imaginary Gondalian heroine:

[...]
I did not dream, remembrance still
Clasped round my heart its fetters chill
But I am sure the soul is free
To leave its clay a little while
Or how *in exile misery*
Could I have seen my country smile?
In English fields my limbs were laid
With English turf beneath my head
My spirit wandered o'er that shore
Where nought but it may wander more
Yet if *the soul can thus return*
I need not and will not mourn
And *vainly did ye drive me far*
With leagues of ocean stretched between
My mortal flesh you might debar
But not the eternal fire within
[...]
(ll. 15-24, my emphasis)^[14]

14 All the quoted excerpts of Charlotte and Emily Brontë's poetry are taken from Juliet Barker's edition (1993) cited in the bibliography.

The separation between body and spirit/mind, very probably caused by a real or symbolic death (exile), makes it possible for the speaker to somehow return to her homeland and witness its victory or devastation, allowing as well two different readings of the poem: (1) Claudia's body lay exiled in England while her spirit wandered in her own country, or (2) it seemed that both body and spirit returned to England from exile. The Brontës' body or lyric subject, whether personal or fictionalised (in the realms of *Angria* and *Gondal*), experiences many different instances of displacement: as departure, uprooting, evasion, transportation, confinement and even burial or entombing. All of which – whether real or symbolic – cannot be fully understood separately from the specific time and place they found themselves in. One, thus, cannot help connecting the idea of the personal lyric as a transformation of human crisis, and as a safeguard of the integrity of the self in a chaotic world, with the notion of exile as authorship and of the author as a displaced artist.

Charlotte Brontë's insistence on the nineteenth-century dilemma of whether to sail abroad or to stay behind is recurrent in many compositions, threatening to be transformed into a tortured obsession – the feminine sense of the lack of a proper place or cause. In "Mementos", a poem of 1837, we find the Angrian narrator vaguely alluding to exotic elements treasured up but long forgotten in a stately Hall, haunted for years: "These fans of leaves, from Indian trees – / These crimson shells, from Indian seas" (ll. 9-10). These relics from the past seem to tell a tale of passion and grief in colonial wilds and they haunt and determine the female descendant's own life and character:

[...] passion
 Surged in her soul with ceaseless foam,
 The storm at last brought desolation,
 And drove her exiled from her home.
 (ll.189-92)

The symbolic images of the soul's submersion are mingled with the more palpably real ones of travelling and sea-crossing: "She crossed the sea – now lone she wanders" (196). If home for this autobiographical character is associated with the site of an unspeakable past of feminine pain and suffering, to run away to exile doesn't seem to resolve the drama at the heart of her being either: "She will return, but cold and altered" (l. 205).

Brontë has one or two poems in which the speakers are, in fact, colonizing men –traders, soldiers or missionaries. Instead of suffering, as women do, the consequences of the colonial struggles in which their mates are implicated (grief, abandonment and death), they exploit colonialism for their own particular ends (faith, ambition or adventure). “The Missionary” (1845) is spoken by a man simultaneously moved by his faith and by the wish to depart from his land. The fate or experience of the British missionaries abroad, especially in India, seems to have fascinated Charlotte as much as the stories of martyred saints. The poem opens already on board the ship that will take him to his far off destination, and from whose deck he has one last glimpse of the English coast he wishes to leave behind: “England’s shores are yet in view, / (...) I cannot yet Remembrance flee” (ll. 16, 19). Yet, he demonstrates an almost uncontrollable wish to move far away, to break all bonds with his native country, to forget certain affections, in order to cultivate a new existence:

Plough, vessel, plough the British main,
Seek the free ocean’s wider plain;
Unbind, dissever English ties;
Bear me to climes remote and strange
Where altered life, [...]
Shall stir, turn, dig, the spirit’s soil;
[...]
Mere human love, mere selfish yearning,
Let me, then struggle to forget.
(ll. 1-2, 5-15)

One can, furthermore, find a correspondence between the Brontës’ feelings of remoteness at Haworth and their lives as teachers and governesses away from home – whether they chose to stay or were compelled to leave, they remained, paradoxically, exiles.^[15] But while for Emily Brontë the brief Belgian venture took her out of her environment and language, and it was mostly an experience of uprooting, for Charlotte it meant the discovery of the promised land – the site of a much-hungered for intellectual and

15 The theme of the exilic Other (man or woman, real or fictional) is a haunting one in the poetry of the Brontës. Someone who, for political, religious or professional reasons, is forced to leave his/her homeland, and is transported to remote, forlorn places, seems to constitute a fit image for the women poets’ personal predicament.

affective fulfilment.^[16] Compared with this land, Barker states, “Haworth seems such a lonely, quiet spot, buried away from the world” (Barker, 1995: 432). For the eldest sister, it is this home which is now implicitly equated with exile, as in the 1847 poem “The Orphan Child”, also inserted in *Jane Eyre*: “Why did they send me so far and so lonely, / Up where the moors spread and grey rocks are piled?” (ll. 5-6). Here, the meaning of the word exile would widen in order to enclose life itself as a long, weary and dreary way for the lonely traveller (ll. 1-4), on his journey to the home of rest – Heaven (ll. 19-20). The pervasive vision of life as a pilgrimage, and of its final heavenly reward, may thus explain the recurrence of this religious metaphor in the poetry of the Brontës. In her youth, Charlotte had been particularly interested in the biblical story of St. John, exiled in the Island of Patmos, as her poem with the same title, written circa 1832, after she had left Roe Head as a student, suggests:

The holy exile lies all desolate
In that lone island of the Grecian sea.
And does he murmur at his earthly fate,
The doom of thralldom and captivity?
(ll. 1-4)

The narrator wonders if, in his slumber, the saint’s “soul” is “[...] on some far journey gone / To lands beyond the wildly howling wave” (ll. 11-12) or if “[...] to his freed soul is it once more given / To wander in the dark, wild, wilderness” (ll. 21-22). The answer points rather to a visionary experience of revelation and liberation: “From his eyes a veil is rent away” (l. 25).

In their recent work on Elizabeth Barrett Browning, another major Victorian woman poet, the critics S. Avery and R. Stott (2014), have significantly included a section on “Woman as Exile”, in which they identify a new political keynote in the poet’s work: “the construction of the exile figure” (90). As she writes in the Preface of her narrative poem *Drama in Exile*, “I took pleasure in driving in ... the Idea of EXILE” (quoted in Avery); yet, this concern had already surfaced in earlier poems, such as “Riga’s Last

16 In February 1842, Charlotte and Emily Brontë entered the Pensionnat Heger, in Brussels, as boarding pupils. In November of that year, unable to be away from home, Emily returns to Haworth for good, while Charlotte goes back to the Pensionnat, where she stays until January 1844.

Song" and "The Vision of Fame" (1826), *The Seraphim*, "Cowper's Grave" and "The Exile's Return" (1838). And indeed, as these critics state,

The politics of exclusion and alienation which the exile figure embodies became increasingly fundamental to Barrett's writings and were a dominant feature of her work of the 1840s where, ..., not only women but working-class figures, children and slaves are constructed as political exiles forced to negotiate as best they can potentially destructive power systems of 'alien tyranny' (Avery and Stott, 2014: 90-91)

Particularly interesting is the way in which Elizabeth Barrett explores the issues of women being exiled from the centres of authority and control in the public place, namely, in works as *A Drama in Exile* and "The Romaunt of the Page", a ballad included in *Poems* (1844). In the first, she rehearses the biblical narrative of the expulsion from Eden through Eve's perspective, rather than Adam's, and rewrites the androcentric tradition of epic as constructed by Milton's *Paradise Lost*. In the second, she presents a woman who works as a page for the man she loves and who, like Eve, is constructed as an exiled figure who is subsequently able to critique woman's restricted role from the margins. But, due to her own confined circumstances, the poet would herself embody this figure: after secretly marrying against the wishes of her family, Elizabeth Barrett Browning ran away to Italy (the paradigmatic land of English literary exiles), putting herself into the position of the very same exile with which she had been perennially fascinated.

It is highly significant, therefore, that the first political poem that she wrote after her semi-voluntary escape was "The Runaway Slave at Pilgrim's Point", in 1845, when the Boston Anti-Slavery Bazaar asked her to contribute to the cause. When she took up the commission, E.B. Browning was evidently conscious of the fact that her own family had been plantation owners for generations and that she owed her privileged situation to the work of slaves (who had themselves been displaced from their homelands). Therefore, the task was probably faced with the deliberate intention of redeeming herself from the sins of her forefathers. Constructed in the form of a complex dramatic monologue, it gives voice to a black woman slave who had been raped by her white masters and who, to prevent the perpetuation of discrimination, takes the final dramatic gesture of murdering her mixed-blood baby-child. It is no coincidence either that the poem takes place at Pilgrim's Point in New England, the symbolic site of previous exiles of English origin fleeing religious persecution: "I stand on the mark beside

the shore / Of the first white pilgrim's bended knee, / Where exile turned to ancestor" (I, ll. 1-3).^[17] The descendants of these were now the perpetrators of the systems of tyranny that were creating further displacement and suffering.

The topic of forced displacement is taken up again, with great charisma, in the late nineteenth century by the hand of Mathilde Blind, a New Woman poet, born in Germany and very early on closely acquainted with the issues of exile. Her mother had become involved with the movement for a united and democratic Germany and, in 1849, married Karl Blind, a radical political writer and activist. He was one of the leaders of the Baden insurrections during the revolutions of 1848, the suppression of which led to his exile from Germany. After being expelled from France and Belgium, the family was granted asylum in England, having settled west of Regent's Park. For the next thirty years their household became both a haven for Europe's radical exiles (namely, Joseph Mazzini) and an influential intellectual salon.

The haunting figure of the exile thus inevitably emerges in several of the poetic compositions written at the English *fin-de-siècle* by this most sophisticated and cosmopolitan poet and biographer, connected with the larger Pre-Raphaelite artistic circle. One of these works is the beautiful collection of songs with the suggestive title of *Love in Exile (Songs and Sonnets)*, (1893), which imagines a female speaker addressing her beloved from the distance of her exile, evoking the memories and the places from their common past as a compensation for their forced severance:

[...]
 No longer like an exile on the earth
 I wildly roam,
 I was thy double from the hour of birth
 And thou my home.
 (V, ll. 14-16)^[18]

A lifelong supporter of progressive causes, Blind was bent on exerting a political impact with her poetry. After having visited the site of a ruined Scottish village in 1884, she recorded her impressions and composed one of the century's most remarkable narrative poems about rural Scotland and

17 All the quoted excerpts from E.B. Browning's poetry are taken from Isobel Armstrong's anthology (1996) cited in the bibliography.

18 All the quoted excerpts from Mathilde Blind's poetry are taken from Judith Willson's anthology (1996) cited in the bibliography.

the disastrous effects of the Highland clearances or evictions. Published in the year of the passage of the Crofter's Act of 1886, *The Heather on Fire* is her historical saga of the members of a Skye family who are evicted from their home, forced onto an emigrant ship, and their death when the ship wrecks on a nearby coast. Blind's poetic tale of denunciation is arranged into four cantos or duan, which trace three generations in the life of a doomed Highland family, combining high English diction and elements of Greek and Senecan tragedy with elaborate social and physical detail.

She describes the crofters' long-standing love for their island home, their laborious life, their response to nature and their relationships, but she also marks the exploitive dominion of "the lord of all that land". She narrates how this idyll is disturbed when neighbours report that the landlord's men have begun a series of evictions and they watch flames rise from several adjacent farms. When the evictors arrive at their cot, a series of dramatic events occur before "the great Lord's hireling men" drag the surviving family members to the emigration ship. The final scene shows the oldest family member as he watches in horror the ship making its way through a storm out into the open sea, where it suddenly breaks apart in the distance, with all the remaining family members. Psychologically charged, the final descriptive vignette is Turner-esque in the suggestion of the common dramatic fate of many emigrants:

[...]

Therewith it seemed as if their Scottish land
Bled for its children, yea, as though some hand –
Stretching from where on the horizon's verge
The rayless sun hung on the reddening surge –
(Stanza XX)

As Sharon Krummel states in her thesis on the *The Politics of Migration in Contemporary Women's Writing* (2004), "There are continuities between the 'colonial' and 'postcolonial' eras, which the opposition between them tends to overlook" (30). The density of the poetic language, she suggests, enables "the coexistence or even coalescence of time periods", as well as "contrasts between the place left behind and the place travelled to, to be powerfully evoked" (78). She quotes Mary Warnock, writing that "the value we attach to *recollection* is understandable at precisely the point where memory and imagination intersect" (92). For this reason, we find many contemporary poets engaging with differences within and connections

across cultures; “collectively they indicate that feelings of displacement are a shared condition” (Dowson, 2011: 4). In their mid-Atlantic imagination, poets who migrated between Britain and the US “harmonised the preoccupying disjunctions of being somewhere and nowhere”, thus intervening in the record-making that has too easily been biased by male and or nationalistic agendas (Dowson, 2011: 4-5).

By the end of the twentieth century, Jane Dowson states, a relatively large community of women poets – many of whom were British more by association than nationality or else expatriate – identified themselves with an uncertain sense of home (2005: 197). As she argues, “their impulse to use place as a cultural identifier is complicated but enriched by their experience of territorial, social and linguistic alienation” (*ibidem*). For instance, the migrant Sujata Bhatt claims that she writes from “my home which does not fit / with any geography” (quoted in Dawson, 2005: 197). As the New Zealander poet Fleur Adcock asks, “Are women natural outsiders?” (*ibidem*) If gender usually deepens the sense of cultural dislocation, it also endorses or subscribes the creative opportunities that are inherent to it. For Dowson, Jackie Kay, of Nigerian and Scottish descent, problematizes this issue in her poem “In My Country”: “she does and she doesn’t come from the Scotland she lives in, and the historical/biological accident she represents is transformed into political and aesthetic opportunity” (Dowson, 2005: 200). Finally, Jo Shapcott “has expressed [namely in her poem ‘Motherland’] her doubts about a national identity – Englishness – in the context of social alienation and territorial displacement” (*idem*: 202). Thus, whether writing from a colonial or from a postcolonial historical context, from a personal or a fictionalised literary perspective, English women poets have variously used the functional trope of the ‘exile’ (or the ‘migrant’) to inscribe the challenging experience of displacement in the collective memory of female historiography and identity.

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IN SEARCH OF GARDENS AND CLAY. CREATIVITY AND DISPLACEMENT IN THE AFRICAN DIASPORA

Cleide Antonia Rapucci

Guided by my heritage of a love of beauty and a respect for
strength – in search of my mother's garden, I found my own.
Alice Walker (1983: 243)

In this paper, I focus on a book that occupies a prominent position among the works of Brazilian authors: it is *Ponciá Vicêncio*, by Conceição Evaristo. At first, one might think that this book is little studied, at the edge of the canon; but that is a big mistake. Much has been said about it in many directions. It is studied as a coming of age novel (a female and black *Bildungsroman*), in relation to space, memory and the female protagonist, race, gender and class issues, as well as the relation to the diaspora and Bantu ancestry. A quick search on the Internet brings us theses, articles, reviews about the novel, which was translated into English in 2007 (though a translation that rather follows procedures of domestication, as it minimizes the strangeness of the Portuguese text for the English language readers).

While thinking about the novel, especially thinking about the many searches of Ponciá, the female protagonist, another book that attracts me insisted on starting a dialogue with it in my mind: *In Search of our Mothers' Gardens* (1983), by Alice Walker, the praised author of *The Color Purple* (1982).

Alice Walker is one of the most important American writers. She was born in Eatonton, Georgia, in 1944, and received the American Book Award and the Pulitzer Prize in 1983. In 1972 she taught the first course on black women writers in the US and has since worked in feminist issues: racism, reproductive rights, the connection between black culture, communities and history and the meaning of the myth and the African Diaspora. According to Maggie Humm (1994), both her novels and her critical essays explore specific critical issues: the role of black women artists; the

connection between artists and the black communities and black history; and the significance, and richness, of myth and black culture.

In her work, Alice Walker defends the Afro-American “call and response”, the testifying dialogue, an interactive epistemology of connect-edness with deep roots in African culture. For her, the oral stories told by her female are on a par with written black heritage.

Her importance in Afro-American criticism is signaled by Maggie Humm (1994), for whom African-American feminist criticism could be said to have begun in 1974 with two events: the publication of a special issue of *Black World* containing essays by June Jordan and Mary Helen Washington, which carried on its cover a photograph of Zora Neale Hurston, and the publication of the essay “In search of our mothers’ gardens” by Alice Walker in *MS* magazine.

In 1983, Walker collected this and other essays, articles and reviews written between 1966 and 1982 and published a book under the title *In Search of Our Mothers’ Gardens: Womanist Prose*. This book is one of those visceral texts for us who work with women’s literature.

In the epigraph to the book, Walker defines the word *womanist*, first, as the black feminist or the feminist of color. As Alice Walker writes, it comes “from the black folk expression of mothers to female children: ‘You acting womanish’, i.e., like a woman.” (Walker, 1983: xi). And the author goes on to state: “Usually referring to outrageous, audacious, courageous or *willful* behavior. Wanting to know more and in greater depth than is considered “good” for one. Interested in grown-up doings. Acting grown-up. Being grown-up. (...) Responsible. In charge. *Serious*.” (*Ibidem*) The womanist word can also designate a “woman who loves other women, sexually and/or nonsexually. Appreciates and prefers women’s culture, women’s emotional flexibility (...) and women’s strength. Sometimes loves individual men, sexual and/or nonsexually. Committed to the survival and unity of all people, male *and* female. Not a separatist (...)” (*ibidem*).

Third, says Walker, the womanist “loves music. Loves dance. Loves the moon. *Loves* the Spirit. Loves love and food and roundness. Loves struggle. *Loves* the Folk. Loves herself. (Walker, 1983, p. xii). And the author concludes the epigraph saying that “the womanist is to feminist as purple is to lavender” (*ibidem*), a metaphor that emphasizes the strength of womanism in relation to feminism, and implies the need for a black feminism.

According to Humm (2003), today the term womanism refers to black feminism, but in the 19th century it referred to those who supported women’s rights. For Walker, black feminism must be self-generated and has unique

features. For example, it has extensive dialogues with the black writer Zora Neale Hurston, uses the method of call and respond and gives attention to spirituality. So, says Humm (2003: 296-297), Walker prefers the term “womanist” to “feminist”, because womanist connects with the African oral tradition and the Yoruba goddess, Osun (or Oshun). Many of the key images of women in Walker come from oral literature and African myth, and womanist has links with Osun, a strong fertile woman (cf. Humm, 1994: 183).

According to the site “Casa Iemanjá Iassobá (www.casaianjanaiassoba.com.br), the orisha *Oxum*, in Portuguese (in English with the spelling Osun and Oshun), is the owner of fresh water and, by extension, of all rivers. Her element is water in discreet movement and also the waterfalls. Her image is often associated with motherhood; it controls fertility. Oshun is essentially the deity of women, presides over menstruation, pregnancy and childbirth. Fecundity and fertility are, by extension, abundance and affluence. Fertility in the field of ideas and creativity is also included here. Oshun is the deity of wealth – owner of gold, fruit of the interior of the earth. She has the title of *Iyalodê* among the Yoruba people, one who commands women in the city, arbitrates disputes and is responsible for good order at the market.

In the essays that make up the book *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens* we can see Alice Walker in this role as a womanist, conductor of other women, worried about them. In the text “A Talk: convocation 1972”, which is addressed to students of the Sarah Lawrence College, she urges women to change the world. Her essays speak of search: for example, in “Beyond the Peacock: The Reconstruction of Flannery O'Connor”, she speaks of the search for her mother's home and in “Looking for Zora” the search for the grave of the writer Zora Neale Hurston. In the first case, there is a return to the mother's garden, which survives in spite of the house that falls apart. In the other, the desire to put a headstone on the grave, to win the forgetfulness of the cemetery which is overgrown with weeds. We have always a circle of women, a prolific dialogue.

In these texts, creativity and criticism are together. According to Humm (1994), in *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens* Walker is a storyteller and also a moral philosopher; she is the “mediator” between contemporary culture and the systems of African American beliefs.

All the work of Walker is intertextual: in her essays, the responsibility for change is always placed on women artists, weavers and musicians and not on academic thought. In “In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens” she broadens the definition of art and includes in it the arts of quilting, baking,

and gardening. The essay wants to answer the question: “What is the black literary tradition?”, revaluing the community of black women artists.

For her, black women have always been great artists and thinkers, skilled in cultural production, precisely, because slavery and racist society denied them access to formal learning – the quilt making process is a clear example of the critical task.

In the essay that gives the book its title, Walker says that their grandmothers and mothers “were not ‘Saints,’ but Artists; driven to a numb and bleeding madness by the springs of creativity in them for which there was no release” (Walker, 1983: 233). She further adds: “They were Creators, who lived a life of spiritual waste, because they were so rich in spirituality (...) that the strain of enduring their unused and unwanted talent drove them insane.” (*Ibidem*)

Walker asks: “What did it mean for a black woman to be an artist in our grandmother’s time?” (Walker, 1983: 233). And again asks:

Did you have a genius of a great-great-grandmother who died under some ignorant and depraved white overseer’s lash? Or was she required to bake biscuits for a lazy backwater tramp, when she cried out in her soul to paint watercolors of sunsets, or the rain falling on the green and peaceful pasturlands? Or was her body broken and forced to bear children (who were more often than not sold away from her)-eight, ten, fifteen, twenty children-when her one joy was the thought of modeling heroic figures of rebellion, in stone or clay? (*Ibidem*)

And about her mother, she says: “But when, you will ask, did my overworked mother have time to know or care about feeding the creative spirit?” (Walker, 1983: 239). First, her mother told stories of her life, and many stories that Walker writes are her mother’s stories. But the telling of these stories was not the only way her mother showed herself as an artist. She also planted “ambitious gardens”, “with over fifty varieties of plants that bloom profusely from early March until late November”. (*Idem*: 241)

Walker asserts that she notices that it is only when her mother is working in her flowers that she is radiant, almost to the point of being invisible – except as Creator: hand and eye. Ordering the universe is the image of her personal conception of Beauty. Walker concludes that for her mother, “being an artist has still been a daily part of her life. This ability to hold on, even in very simple ways, is work black women have done for a very long time. (*Idem*: 242)

And this goes back to her ancestry:

Guided by my heritage of a love of beauty and a respect for strength – in search of my mother’s garden, I found my own.

And perhaps in Africa over two hundred years ago, there was just such a mother; perhaps she painted vivid and daring decorations in oranges and yellows and greens on the walls of her hut; perhaps she sang – in a voice like Roberta Flack’s – *sweetly* over the compounds of her village; perhaps she wove the most stunning mats or told the most ingenious stories of all the village storytellers. Perhaps she was herself a poet – though only her daughter’s name is signed to the poems that we know. (*Idem*: 243)

Conceição Evaristo was born in Belo Horizonte in 1946. She was an elementary school teacher, studied Languages and Literature at UFRJ (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro), did her Master’s at PUC (Catholic University) in Rio and took her PhD from UFF (Fluminense Federal University). In *Ponciá Vicêncio* (2003), we can see the connection between mother and daughter in relation to creativity, as discussed by Walker. In this *Bildungsroman*, we have the trajectory of the female protagonist, Ponciá, intermingled with the story of her mother and brother, in a mixture of present and past. The point of view uses multiple selective omniscience, predominating Ponciá’s view, but also with the point of view of her mother, brother and her partner.

Through memory, Ponciá builds her identity, especially related to her ancestry. The figure of the grandfather here is fundamental. Ponciá and her mother worked the clay, creating clay sculptures. They lived in the countryside, in a *quilombo* (from the Kimbundu word *kilombo*, a Brazilian hinterland settlement founded by fugitive slaves), where she spent most of her time with her mother, because her father and brother worked in the land of the white people.

Thus, this space of the childhood home, which she calls “the land” (Evaristo, 2003: 10) becomes a territory of women. It was Ponciá who sought the clay in the river. “At that time, Ponciá liked to be a girl” (Evaristo, 2003: 9)^[1]. Her conflict was with her name, which she did not like:

As a girl, she had the habit of going to the river bank and there, staring into the water, she shouted her own name: Ponciá Vicêncio! Ponciá Vicêncio! She felt

1 All quotations from the novel *Ponciá Vicêncio* were translated by the author of the article.

as if she were calling someone else. She did not hear her name respond within. She invented others. Panda, Malenga, Quietí, none belonged to her either. She, innominate, trembling with fear, was afraid of the joke, but insisted. Her head span in a vacuum; she, empty, felt nameless. She felt like nobody. Then, she felt like crying and laughing. (Evaristo, 2003: 16)

In this territory of women, Ponciá searches for her identity, associated with womanist characteristics mentioned by Walker, in a clear link with the orisha Oshun: "At the time Ponciá Vicêncio was on the river bank, looking at herself in the waters, as if in a mirror, calling herself, she still did not keep many sorrows in her chest. She had grown up alone, only with her mother" (*idem*: 18). The river, associated with Oshun, is a constant in the text; the image accompanies Ponciá as an adult, and she wants to go back there.

The power associated with Oshun, who is the deity that leads the other women, can be seen in the mother's attitudes; she is the one in charge of the house. The female space here is associated with power; the woman is responsible for the order:

The mother never complained about the absence of her man. She was entertained by her singing and by her little pots of clay. When he arrived, it was she who determined what the man would do at home in those days. What he should do when he returned there to the land of the white. What he should say to them. What he should bring the next time he would come home. [...] The father was strong, the brother almost a man, the mother ordered and they obeyed. It was so good to be a woman! (*Idem*: 24)

Working in clay is described throughout the book as a link between mother and daughter: "The mother made pans, pots and clay animals. The girl sought the clay on the river banks. Once dry, the mother would put the work to bake in a clay oven too. The little things came out so hard, strong, difficult to break. ... Ponciá Vicêncio also knew how to work the clay very well" (*idem*: 18). Ponciá's brother also remembers: "The sister could read... What was her life like? Ponciá worked the clay so well. She had the clever fingers, makers of beautiful things, more than the mother's." (*Idem*: 73)

Her brother's remark, which puts reading and the clay on a par, is very pertinent. Ponciá, as a womanist, is the one who wants to go further in knowledge. She is bold, audacious, wants to know more and more deeply. No one in the family had learned how to read. The father could only learn to recognize letters, but Ponciá went further, with the help of missionaries.

When she was beginning to form words, the missionaries were gone and she continued learning alone: "When the priests left, after having fulfilled all their jobs Ponciá soon realized that she could not wait for them to improve her knowledge. She went on, advancing alone and obstinate on the pages of the spelling book. And in a few months she already knew how to read" (*idem*: 26). Ponciá, therefore, is self-sufficient, and, beyond the knowledge of the countryside, also had the knowledge of the city.

Also through the mother's point of view we see the art of Ponciá with clay and the connection between mother and daughter:

When the daughter was gone, she felt half crippled. It was as if she had lost a part of her body. The girl was her female daughter. They talked, worked and sang together. As a very young girl, she understood the clay and went to the river to fetch the batter. She knew which one was the best, which the softest, the most obedient. She acknowledged that which accepted willingly the command of the hands, translating into forms the wishes of those who created. She knew with her eyes closed the matter of the river. (*Idem*: 77)

A very important character in relation to Ponciá's search is her grandfather, who died when she was a baby. When she started walking, suddenly, she imitated her grandfather: "He walked with one arm hidden behind his back and closed the little hand as if it were a stump." (*Idem*: 13). The clay figure she makes of him intrigued her mother: "What to do with the creation of her daughter? What to do with her daughter's Grandpa Vicêncio?" (Evaristo, 2003: 18-19). But the father has a different reaction: "He called the girl handing her what was hers. He made no gesture of approval or disapproval. That was a work by Ponciá Vicêncio, to herself. Nothing that could be given or sold" (*idem*: 19).

This gives us clues about the heritage, which is a leitmotif of the narrative: "The girl had heard a few times that Grandpa Vicêncio had left her a heritage." (*Idem*: 27) At times, we feel that this legacy can be madness, but I think that the heritage is the overflowing of Ponciá's creativity manifested in the figure she made of the grandfather. After she went to the city and had no further contact with the clay, Ponciá feels a void, "becoming alienated from her own self" (*idem*: 44). When she returns to the village and to the house of wattle-and-daub, she rescues the clay man from the old trunk. Nengua Kainda warns her that "no matter wherever she went, she could not run away from the heritage left by Grandpa Vicêncio. Sooner or later, the fact would take place, the law would be fulfilled" (*idem*: 60). Ponciá is the artist,

the creator Alice Walker talks about. She lives through the spiritual waste and the strain of enduring her unused talent.

The clay objects are found in every home (some of them her mother sold, others she gave away). During her visit, Ponciá found in every home “clay objects, made by herself and by her mother. And from all people, Ponciá heard the same observation. She was so much alike Grandpa Vicêncio” (*idem*: 63).

After the second trip to her homeland, she begins to feel an itch between her fingers: “She scratched so much it bled” (*idem*: 74). She then runs to the maid’s room where she lived and gets the clay man inside the bundle: “She sniffed the work, the odor was the same in her hand. Ah! So that was it! It was Grandpa Vicêncio who had left that smell. It was from Grandpa Vicêncio that clay odor” (*idem*: 75). She feels “a palpable longing for clay” (*ibidem*). At this time, she feels she will find her mother and brother alive. So I see Grandpa Vicêncio’s legacy as a return to the source of creativity. She will go back to the river, where Oshun, Orisha of fertility and creativity, is.

Almost at the end of the narrative, the brother of Ponciá, Luandi, now a soldier in the city, visits a popular art exhibition and finds her mother and sister’s works. On the white card that was next to the objects it reads: “Authors: Maria Vicêncio and daughter Ponciá Vicêncio/Region: Vicêncio Village/Owner: Dr Aristeu Pena Forte Soares Vicêncio” (*idem*: 106). Only here do we know Ponciá’s mother’s name. It is a moment of epiphany, in which the creativity tie that united them is recognized:

Luandi watched the mother and sister’s works as if seeing them for the first time, although he recognized himself in each of them. He watched the details of everything. There were the objects of everyday use: pans, pots, jugs, jars, and the ones for ornament in smaller size, very tiny. People, animals, household items, all things of make-believe, decoration objects, to play. Creations made, as if the two wanted to miniature life, so that it could fit and perpetuate the look of everybody, anywhere.” (*Idem*: 106-107).

The art of the two women gains visibility and the text says about Luandi: “He was happy too, because in the creation of his mother and sister were appointed their names as authors” (*idem*: 106).

The end of the last four chapters leads again to the river, the natural way that Ponciá needs to follow to recover the source of her creativity: “Ponciá Vicêncio walked down the hill. She followed towards the river” (*idem*: 124); “He took his sister’s hand and went with her to join their

mother. Good time, Maria Vicêncio was very distressed. Time requested, it was time to find her daughter and take her back to the river" (*idem*: 127).

After finding his mother and sister, Luandi thinks that one day he will return to the village and try to collect some work by the two women: "They were objects that told parts of a story. The stories of the black maybe. The sister had the traits and ways of Grandpa Vicêncio. He was not surprised with the similarity that was growing. Good thing she was not the heir to a story so sad, because while suffering was alive in the memory of all, perhaps they would seek, if only by the force of desire, to create another fate" (*idem*: 130).

The text says: "It was necessary to authorize the text of life, as it was necessary to help to build the story of the family" (*ibidem*). The last paragraph of the book returns to the rainbow image that started the narrative: "Outside, in the iris-colored sky, a huge multicolored rainbow vanished slowly while Ponciá Vicêncio, link and legacy of a memory rediscovered by her beloved ones, would never be lost again, would be kept in the waters of the river" (*idem*: 132).

So, to me, the novel of Conceição Evaristo speaks of the art of black women as a way to get to their ancestry and tell their story. The book speaks of the need to feed the creative spirit of these women. The search for the clay of their hands is a way to search for the garden of their mothers in order to find their heritage.

By telling the story of Ponciá, Conceição Evaristo is doing an exercise in metalanguage – she speaks of the need to make visible the writing of these women, so often placed outside the official canon.

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VARIAN FRY AND ARISTIDES SOUSA MENDES.

RESCUE IN BORDEAUX AND MARSEILLES

Ana Maria Alves

In June 1940, at the height of the debacle, the Portuguese consul in Bordeaux, Aristides Sousa Mendes, disobeyed his Government and saved the lives of thousands of people.^[1]
(Bachi, 2015: 4^{ème} de couverture).

(...) in Marseilles. (...) there was the sea, the port, that is to say, the only possibility to go abroad.^[2]
(Feuchtwanger, 2010: 261)

0. INTRODUCTION

The rescue operations carried out by Aristides Sousa Mendes and Varian Fry have become a major key to understanding the survival of the individuals who escaped the genocide. It is mandatory to understand the dilemmas of those who were involved in the aforementioned humanitarian actions, and to grasp the decisions they took under excessive conditions in order to understand how far some men are capable of going to preserve human dignity.

In his book *Persecution and Rescue in France: Jews under the Occupation*^[3] Asher Cohen (1993: 11) states that:

(...) the history of the resistance and the rescue history is composed more by individual acts than by institutional actions. It is composed by thousands of personal stories, without which it would never have occurred. We rarely have access to contemporary documents. Most events are known only because they have been recorded afterwards, and later published as personal memoirs, or filed as testimonies.^[4]

1 “En juin 1940, en pleine débâcle, Aristides Sousa Mendes, consul du Portugal à Bordeaux, sauva la vie de milliers de personnes en désobéissant à son gouvernement”. All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

2 “(...) à Marseille. (...) il y avait la mer, le port, c’est-à-dire le seul moyen de parvenir à l’étranger”.

3 *Persécutations et sauvetage. Juifs et Français sous l’Occupation et sous Vichy*.

4 “L’histoire de la résistance et du sauvetage est composée de faits individuels (...) de milliers d’histoires personnelles, sans lesquelles elles n’auraient même pas eu lieu.”

These men, later recognized by international institutions, rescued a lot of people, and those institutions honored them and perpetuated their courageous actions in order to prevent future generations from forgetting them. Our purpose is to pay tribute to the humanitarian action of two men who, during the darkest hours of our history, were able to resist the Nazi barbarity, helping to save those who fled from it. We seek to emphasize first and foremost the importance of perpetuating the role of memory for future generations by recalling this humanitarian resistance that saved so many famous and anonymous men and women who were condemned to a certain death. Having survived this rescue, they owe their salvation, their lives to those who helped them.

In this case, it is Aristides Sousa Mendes and Varian Fry who both sought to issue as many visas as possible and to save lives to the full. These two men were considered the “Righteous Gentiles” among nations. The application of this notion to the role played by the figure of the Righteous in the evolution of the French historical memory of the Occupation has further underlined its limits. Thus, between 16 July 1995 and 23 March 2000, a process of institutionalisation of the figure of the Righteous among nations took place. The holders of power were in charge of carrying out this transformation. However, at the same time, the speech made during this evocation of the past bears an exemplary memory, which means that positive examples are capable of uniting groups, not dividing or stigmatising. While hearing the suffering and the words of the victims, they claim to go beyond the “literal” discourse to assert values and teachings.

1. VARIAN FRY – THE RESCUE ASSIGNMENT

Regarding the rescue organisations, Varian Fry’s network should be highlighted. This American man, who was officially sent to France as a journalist, was actually a representative of the *Emergency Rescue Committee*, a humanitarian organization that was founded in New York on August 14, 1941. According to Jean-Marie Guillon, the Chairman of this humanitarian organization was:

(...) Frank Kingdon, one of the most prominent figures of the Methodist Church, who relies on the management team of the American Friends of German Freedom and benefits from the commitment of influential academics. He also benefits from the assistance of The Museum of Modern Art, in New

York, The Rockefeller Foundation, The New School for Social Research and The New World Resettlement Foundation. His action receives support from Eleanor Roosevelt, the wife of the President of the United States, who succeeded in convincing the State Department to grant “rescue visas” (emergency visas) beyond the immigration quotas.^[5] (1999: 34-35)

Varian Fry established a representation of this cell in Marseilles, the *Centre Américain de Secours* or American Relief Center. Initially, it was supposed to make a reconnaissance survey of the locations in the occupied area, to verify the situation of foreign refugees, mainly the anti-Nazi Germans. His mission was to take out of Europe “a significant number of writers, artists, critics or other figures of the intellectual and political scene (...) who might have wanted or had to escape from subjugated France”^[6] (Loyer, 2001: 143). Of course, it was obvious that these anti-Nazis would eventually be delivered to the Gestapo. Fry would help them by planning a route that would enable them to reach a neutral country and thence the United States. According to Emmanuelle Loyer, there were, at that time: “two geographical routes that would allow them to leave the country. The first of these routes started in Marseilles and passed through the West Indies – the Martinique route taken by many exiles from February to May 1941 – and the second was taken by train across Spain and Portugal (...) to Lisbon, and from there by ship to New York. (...). The second way was more complex because it required visas”^[7] (Loyer, 2007: 55). In her article “The Jewish emigration channels in Marseilles between 1940 and 1942”^[8] Renée Dray-Bensousan adds to these geographical routes the route of “the emigration to China and Shanghai, from September 1940. Sometimes Shanghai is used

5 “(...) Frank Kingdon, l’une des personnalités les plus en vue de l’Eglise méthodiste, il repose sur l’équipe dirigeante de l’Américan Friends of German Fridom et bénéficie de l’engagement à ses côtés d’universitaires influents ainsi que de l’aide du Museum of Modern Art de New York, de la Fondation Rockefeller, de la New School for Social Research et du New World Resttlemment Found. Son action reçoit l’appui d’Eleanor Roosvelt, l’épouse du président des Etats-unis, qui parviendra à convaincre le Département d’Etat d’accorder des “visas de sauvetage” (emergency visa) hors quotas d’immigration.”

6 “(...) un nombre considérable d’écrivains, artistes, critiques ou figures diverses de la scène intellectuelle et politique (...) qui pourraient vouloir et devoir s’enfuir de la France assujettie.”

7 “(...) deux voies géographiques qui permettaient de quitter le pays: le départ de Marseille avec étape aux Antilles – la route martiniquaise empruntée par beaucoup d’exilés entre février et mai 41 – ou le passage par l’Espagne et le Portugal, par le train (...) pour aboutir à Lisbonne, et de là, s’embarquer à New-York. (...). La deuxième voie compliquait les choses car elle nécessitait des visas.”

8 “Les filières d’émigration juives de 1940 à 1942 à Marseille.”

as a lure by emigrants that intend a different final destination, and benefit from the facilities of getting a Chinese visa for the purpose of obtaining a transit visa to Portugal. Despite the difficulties, however, this route was used at least until December 1941”^[9] (Dray-Bensousan, 2000: 20).

Only a limited number of refugees could use the official route to leave Europe in 1940. They had to:

(...) first, get a passenger ticket on a ship and pay a deposit. The payment had to be done to an intermediary of the Marseilles rescue associations in Casablanca, Lisbon and, later, in New York – obtaining the ticket was dependent on obtaining an immigration visa to the host country, and vice versa! The term of validity of this visa was limited [...]. It was necessary to obtain an exit visa from France, also with a limited validity, a medical assessment, an authorization to export the necessary funds to travel (...).^[10] (Grandjonc, 1999: 45)

Fry was ordered to find rescue alternatives to avoid the “papers’ war” “even if the French authorities considered them illegal methods”^[11] (Obschernitzki, 1999: 49). He was instructed in his engagement letter to get informed about “means of transportation, particularly about the use of coasters from this city to the African coast, in order to find out if it was possible or reasonable to send single individuals to Algeria or Casablanca or if it would be better to use a kind of charter [collective], which would imply the use of an unofficial ferry for refugees”^[12] (*ibidem*).

Varian Fry would present the result of this experience in 1945, in *Surrender on Demand*, but the book would not be successful at all because it was disturbing. Pierre Sauvage, in the article ‘Varian Fry and the American

9 “L’émigration vers la Chine et Shanghai dès septembre 1940. Shanghai est parfois un leurre utilisé par les émigrants qui ont en vue une destination finale autre, et qui profitent des facilités à obtenir un visa chinois en vue d’un visa de transit pour le Portugal. Cette voie a cependant servi, malgré les grandes difficultés, au moins jusqu’en décembre 1941.”

10 “(...) se procurer en premier lieu un billet de passage sur un bateau avec dépôt de caution, paiement par l’intermédiaire des associations de secours de Marseille, à Casablanca, à Lisbonne ou depuis New-York – l’obtention du billet étant liée à celle d’un visa d’immigration pour un pays d’accueil, et vice versa! La durée de validité de ce visa était limitée [...]. Il était nécessaire de se procurer un visa de sortie de France, a validité également limitée, une attestation médicale, une autorisation d’exportation de l’argent indispensable au voyage (...).”

11 “guerre des papiers”, “même si les autorités françaises jugeaient de tels moyens illégaux”.

12 “sur les moyens de transport, en particulier sur l’utilisation de caboteurs entre cette ville et la côte africaine, afin de savoir s’il est possible ou raisonnable de faire partir des personnes isolées en Algérie ou à Casablanca ou s’il vaut mieux utiliser une sorte de charter [collectif], ce qui impliquerait un ferry officiel pour réfugiés.”

relief center”,^[13] supports that “the American public opinion was not available to hear the complaints that Fry wanted to transmit regarding US policy toward refugees, and his US citizen’s ‘shame’ before this policy”.^[14] (Sauvage, 1999: 26) *La liste noire, The blacklist*, the book in which he forwards the testimony of his adventure was only published in France, by Plon, in 1999, and in 2008 his last wife, Annette, published a new edition, by Agone, entitled *Livrer sur Demande... Quand les artistes, les dissidents et les Juifs fuyaient les nazis* or *To deliver on request ... When the artists, the dissidents and the Jews fled the Nazis*.

Varian Fry tells the story of a young American (himself), a former Harvard student, from a wealthy family, who arrived in Marseilles on August 14, 1940, two months after France’s defeat, and one and a half years before the United States finally became involved in the war. The US government officially entrusted him with a very specific mission. He was given a list containing the names of two hundred refugees, musicians, painters and writers, all of them intellectuals and artists threatened by the Nazis, whom he had to make reach America at any cost. He had to rescue these personalities after Germany defeated France and an iniquitous armistice agreement was signed on June 22, 1940, specifying in one of the clauses that the French Government was required to deliver “on demand” all citizens appointed by the Reich government. This unfortunate clause led “all the unwanted individuals into the panic of the exodus”^[15] (Loyer, 2001: 140). It also transformed France “into a huge trap which closes on these foreigners, leaving them no alternative but to face a second exile”^[16] (*ibidem*), according to what was stated by Emmanuelle Loyer in her article ‘The defeat, the academics and the Rockefeller Foundation: France/United States, 1940-1941’.^[17] At that time, as Emmanuelle Loyer specifies in her book, *From Paris to New York, French intellectuals and artists in exile*^[18], Varyan Fry arrived in Marseilles taking with him:

(...) some lists based on consultations with different academic, literary, artistic and journalistic circles... These lists were inevitably incomplete and

13 “*Varian Fry et le Centre américain de secours.*”

14 “l’opinion publique américaine n’était pas disponible à entendre les griefs que Fry voulait émettre sur la politique américaine à l’égard des réfugiés et sa “honte” de citoyen américain devant cette politique.”

15 “tous les indésirables dans l’affolement de l’exode.”

16 “en un gigantesque piège qui se referme sur ces étrangers: ils doivent désormais envisager un deuxième exil.”

17 “La débâcle, les universitaires et la fondation Rockefeller: France/Etats-Unis, 1940-1941.”

18 “Paris à New York, Intellectuels et artistes français en exil.”

heterogeneous. Having been elaborated thousands of kilometers away, they took an urgent, brutal and ultimate significance in France. A missing or scratched name could mean a shattered hope or a life put on hold.^[19] (Loyer, 2007: 54)

This list contained names like Dali, Chagall, Max Ernst and his friend Peggy Guggenheim, Marcel Duchamp, Jean Malaquais, André Breton and Hannah Arendt, Anna Seghers, Victor Serge, André Masson, Heinrich and Nelly Mann and many others, all of them artists and intellectuals threatened by the Nazi doctrine, and whom Varian Fry helped during the Pétainiste bureaucracy. Fry also offered a visa to the United States to Picasso, Matisse, Gide and Malraux, but they believed they were not in danger and refused to go into exile.^[20] In his article, 'The Shelter culture',^[21] Jean-Michel Guiraud (1999: 19) states that:

(...) the southern area became the intellectual migration shelter area and [after the defeat] Marseilles (...) represented one of the most important centers of the shelter-culture for those in exile for the second time. The city attracted the most threatened intellectuals, those whom the Vichy regime abominated and classified as "undesirable" for political, "racial" or xenophobic reasons.^[22]

From the "Splendid"^[23] hotel, in Marseilles, where the branch of the CAS (American Relief Center) was temporarily installed, Varian Fry established a huge network to help Jews and other refugees fleeing from the Nazi regime, the French Militia "the Milice" and from the Gestapo, by issuing them visas and fake passports which enabled them to go through Spain and reach Lisbon. In early September, as emphasized by Jean-Marie Guillon (2000: 37), "there is such a big flow of refugees that he moves the office to number 60 Grignan Street, before settling at number 18 Garibaldi

19 "(...) des listes nées de consultations dans les différents milieux universitaires, littéraires, artistiques et journalistiques... Ces listes étaient forcément incomplètes, forcément hétérogènes. Forgées à des milliers de kilomètres, elles prenaient une signification urgente, brutale définitive en France. Un nom absent, un nom rayé et c'étaient un espoir brisé, une vie en suspens."

20 See Ragache, G. and Ragache, J. (1988), pp. 86-87.

21 "La culture Refuge."

22 "(...) la zone sud était devenue l'espace-refuge de la migration intellectuelle et Marseille (...) représentait depuis la défaite un des pôles les plus importants de la culture-refuge pour les repliés du désastre. La ville avait attiré les intellectuels les plus menacés, ceux que le régime de Vichy abhorrait et classait parmi les "indésirables" pour raisons politiques, "raciales" ou xénophobes."

23 "Splendide".

Boulevard, on January 1, 1941”^[24] He would also find a shelter for himself, his wife and his son in a Villa named Air-Bel, where he would host the surrealist intellectuals and other artists awaiting departure to the Americas. Fry would work in collaboration with the Rockefeller Foundation that was represented in Lisbon by Alexander Kaminsky, who received the exiles that had taken “the pathway which had already proved to be the primary and the safest, through the Pyrenees, Spain and Portugal”^[25] (Obschernitzki, 1999: 50). From October 1940 to May 1941 the CAS tried to find an alternate pathway to the Pyrenean pathway, known as route “F”.

They also tried a clandestine sea route but it was a brief experience because the first boarding of twenty-two guests who wanted to go to the North African coast, in a private yacht, was detained by the maritime police. As the maritime sea route turned out to be a failure, the Pyrenees became the main alternative for leaving France for those refugees who were not capable of getting exit visas, by taking a smuggler’s path. Fry “wanted to rescue as many people as he could, not only the most famous ones”^[26] (Schiffrin, 2007: 33) and he did it, as suggested by the testimony of the former American Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, who does not hesitate to advance, in the preface to the reissue of *Surrender on demand*, “the figure of 4,000 rescued people while, in 1942, Daniel Bénédicté estimated an average of about 1,200 rescued people of 15,000 handled cases. But the CAS would have financed the survival of about 600 people, and would have protected, in one way or another, 4,000 individuals”^[27] (Laurent, 2000: 58)

On August 29, 1941, Fry was arrested and expelled by the Vichy government for having “protected the Jews and the anti-Nazis”^[28] (Fry, 2008: 252) His right-hand man, Daniel Bénédicté, would continue his work. Fry returned to the United States where he would be ignored and ostracized for having deviated from his real task because of his moral conscience, which took him to humanitarian resistance and disobedience. In fact, facing the horror, he considers it to be his duty to rescue many unknown and completely anonymous people, slipping from official activities to clandestine ones, “wasting” the

24 “l’afflux des réfugiés est tel qu’il transfère le bureau au 60 rue Grignan avant de s’installer au 18 boulevard Garibaldi à partir du 1^{er} janvier 1941.”

25 “la filière qui s’était déjà avérée la principale et la plus sûre, celle à travers les Pyrénées, l’Espagne et le Portugal.”

26 “voulait sauver le plus grand nombre, pas seulement les plus célèbres.”

27 “le chiffre de 4 000 personnes sauvées alors que Daniel Bénédicté en 1942 les estimait à environ 1200 pour 15000 dossiers traités. Mais le CAS aurait financé la survie d’environ 600 personnes et aurait protégé d’une manière ou d’une autre 4000.”

28 “protégé les Juifs et les anti-nazis.”

money and the resources provided by the American Relief Centre. Because of this, “the State Department asks the ERC (Emergency Rescue Committee) for the repatriation of Fry, under the threat of not responding anymore to the visa applications”^[29] (Laurent, 2000: 69)

Varian Fry is treated with ingratitude and meanness. After all he had done, all his previous action is forgotten: Varian Fry gradually detaches himself from his political commitments and falls into anonymity. Everybody abandoned him and he died due to a heart attack in 1967, at the age of 59. As emphasized by Jeanpierre Laurent, “Fry experienced the fate of those whom he had changed the destiny. He rescued unwanted people, and he was condemned to remain an unwanted man; not a martyr but, in the deep sense of the word that the writer Jean Malaquais employed to characterize him, an ‘outlaw’ ”^[30] (*idem*: 73).

When the French translation appeared published by Plon (1999), 53 years later, the memory of a man whose actions, during World War II, are comparable to that of Oskar Schindler and Raoul Wallenberg was finally rehabilitated.

This edition is published again, with its “real” title *Surrender on Demand*, by Agone, in 2008, as well as the romantic novella *Planet without visa*, later turned into a film by Jean Malaquais. The story takes place mainly in Marseille, where we recognize Fry, in the character of Aldous John Smith. Since the 1980s, a reverse movement has taken place, memory has been prodigiously revived, as we see vis-a-vis the memory of Varian Fry and the CAS, which Laurent Jeanpierre designates as “a mythologization”^[31]: what one believes to be inaudible or fragmentary returns to the surface.

2. ARISTIDES SOUSA MENDES – CHOOSING A “RESCUER”

Now we will focus on the actions, in France, of the Portuguese Consul, Aristides Sousa Mendes, who, in 1940, after the French defeat, issued visas to refugees. On this subject Annette Wieviorka advocates that the action of men like ASM (Aristides Sousa Mendes):

29 “le département d’Etat demande à l’ERC que Fry soit rapatrié sous peine de ne plus pouvoir répondre aux demandes de visas.”

30 “Fry connu le sort de ceux dont il avait transformé le destin: sauveteur des indésirables, il fut condamné à rester indésirable lui-même, non point martyr, mais, au sens profond du terme dont l’avait qualifié l’écrivain Jean Malaquais, un hors la loi.”

31 See Laurent, pp. 58-73.

(...) enabled the Jews to leave, without anyone being able to say how many people they rescued. [...] The refugees who converge to the city need to get a Portuguese visa to go to the neutral Spain and then try to cross the Atlantic. While the Portuguese government prohibits its consuls to issue visas to Jewish people, Aristides de Sousa Mendes ignores his government and, at the request of Rabbi Haim Kruger, a Belgian refugee, grants a large number of visas – up to 10,000 according to some sources – before the Germans arrived in the city.^[32] (Wieviorka, 1998: 75)

ASM was born into an aristocratic and devout Catholic family, on July 19, 1885, in Cabanas de Viriato, about 350 km from Lisbon. He was the father of a numerous family. After being Consul in Demerara, in the British Guyana, Zanzibar, United States and, also, in Brazil, Spain and Antwerp, in Belgium, he arrived in Bordeaux on September 29, 1938. When France was on the threshold of World War II, one year after he arrived in Bordeaux, approximately, Aristides received, on November 13, 1939, a circular letter from the Ministry, Circular Letter 14, “that radically challenges centuries of Portuguese hospitality tradition and officially introduces a hitherto unknown concept of racial or religious segregation”^[33] (Fralon, 1998: 41). Due to “the abnormal present circumstances”, and the obligation “to adopt some measures, even if temporary”, in order to “prevent abuses”, “but without seeking to make [the entry into Portugal] too difficult” (...) “for foreigners in transit coming to Lisbon to go to America, with whom we do not want to interfere”^[34], the Circular Letter decided to bring about:

32 “(...) a permis aux Juifs de partir, sans que l'on puisse dire combien de personnes ils ont sauvées. [...] Les réfugiés qui affluent dans la ville ont besoin d'un visa portugais pour gagner l'Espagne neutre et tenter ensuite de traverser l'atlantique. Alors que le gouvernement portugais interdit aux consuls de délivrer des visas aux Juifs, Aristides de Sousa Mendes, à la demande du rabbin Haim Kruger réfugié de Belgique, passe outre et en accorde un grand nombre – jusqu'à 10 000 selon certaines sources- avant l'arrivée des Allemands dans la ville.”

33 “(...) qui remet radicalement en cause des siècles de tradition d'hospitalité du Portugal et qui introduit officiellement une notion, inconnue jusque-là, de ségrégation raciale ou religieuse.”

34 “(...) circonstances anormales actuelles, et l'obligation “ d'adopter des mesures, même à titre provisoire ” pour “ prévenir les abus ” “ sans vouloir pour autant rendre trop difficile ” l'entrée au Portugal “ des étrangers en transit qui viennent de Lisbonne pour partir à destination de l'Amérique et que nous n'avons pas envie de gêner ”. Vient ensuite l'interdiction faite aux consuls de concéder des passeports ou des visas sans en référer aux Ministère des Affaires Etrangères aux personnes suivantes: Etranger de nationalité indéfinie (...) aux apatrides, aux Russes, aux titulaires de passeport “ Nansen ”; (...) Etrangers qui, selon l'avis du consul, ne présenteraient pas de raisons valables pour un voyage au Portugal ou ceux dont le passeport contiendraient des indications montrant qu'ils ne pourraient pas entrer librement dans son pays et Juifs expulsés de leur pays, déchus de leur nationalité.”

the prohibition against the consuls on granting passports or visas to the following people, without reporting to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: foreign of undefined nationality (...) stateless people, Russians, “Nansen Passport” holders; (...) foreigners that, according to the consul’s opinion, would not present valid reasons for a trip to Portugal, or those holding passports containing indications that they could not freely enter their own countries, and Jews expelled from their countries, deprived of their citizenship (*ibidem*).

Facing these new policies, Aristides first decided to remain loyal, avoiding any personal initiative regarding the granting of visas as the document below (Fig. 1) shows:



Figure 1: Via a visa to life^[35]

On November 27 and December 6, 1939, he tries to get special permits to Lisbon for Austrian citizens. Unfortunately, the reply is negative. The contact with the refugees had upset him so deeply that he decided to disobey government orientations, though he had always obeyed Salazar’s

35 Via a visa to life. Exhibition of the young North American architect Eric Moed, in Cabanas de Viriato, June 20, 2013 who is the grandson of one of the survivors rescued by Sousa Mendes in 1940, and also the author of the restoration project of the residence of Passal.

orders without questioning them. And so begins the resistance of ASM. He changes his attitude and decides to grant visas to the Austrian family in question. These will only be the first visas issued, because:

(...) this man, with good appearance, joyful and adventurous spirit, would discover a new sense to his life. While the barbarism begins and the sound of Nazi boots is increasing more and more, Aristides puts his signature on thousands and thousands of visas, day and night, in a frantic race against time, until exhaustion, obeying high and mysterious plans.^[36] (Martins, 1999: 326)

In May 1940, due to the influx of refugees to the doors of the consulate, Aristides sends a telegram to Salazar requesting new instructions, but just like José-Alain Fralon reports, “the answer is laconic: respect the Circular Letter 14! On the 13th of June the government refuses the visas that Aristides had requested for about thirty people, including Rabbi Kruger”^[37]. Facing this intransigence of the Portuguese Government, Aristides decides to grant visas to everyone, freeing himself of the dilemma: to decide whether or not apply the directives received, complying with Circular Letter 14, to obey or disobey it. He finally gives priority to his own conscience and states:

(...) From now on, I will grant visas to everyone; there are no more nationalities, races, religions. (...) I cannot let all these people die. Many of you are Jews and our Constitution clearly states that neither the religion nor the political views of a foreigner can be a pretext to refuse them a stay in Portugal. (...) According to the voice of my conscience, I would not be faithful to the law of the Christian, as I am, if I acted this way^[38] (Fralon, 1998: 50).

In terms of the number of lives saved by ASM, Avraham Milgram, historian of the Holocaust Museum Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, advocates that

36 “(...) cet homme, à la belle prestance et à l'esprit joyeux et aventurier, allait découvrir un nouveau sens à sa vie: tandis que la barbarie se met en marche et qu'on n'entend de plus en plus le bruit des bottes nazies, Aristides appose sa signature sur des milliers et des milliers de visas, jour et nuit, dans une course effrénée contre le temps, et ce jusqu'à l'épuisement, obéissant à de hauts et mystérieux desseins.”

37 The disciplinary proceedings of Aristides de Sousa Mendes do Amaral e Abranches, Archives of the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Lisbon), sheet 76.

38 “Désormais, je donnerai des visas à tout le monde, il n'y a plus de nationalités, de races, de religions. (...) je ne peux pas permettre que tous ces gens meurent. Beaucoup d'entre vous sont des juifs et notre Constitution déclare clairement que ni la religion, ni la politique d'un étranger ne peuvent servir de prétexte à un refus de séjour au Portugal. (...) Je ne peux être fidèle à la loi du chrétien que je suis quant agissant de cette manière, conformément à la voix de ma conscience.”

the number of 30,000 lives saved, advanced by many researchers, does not correspond to reality, as he could find through an analysis of the list of names and visas issued by Sousa Mendes during the months of May-June 1940, in Bordeaux. Furthermore, this demonstration does not withdraw in any case the greatness of the humanitarian act of rescue. According to the lists of the Consulate in Bordeaux, ASM issued 2,862 visas from January 1 to June 22, 1940. Most of these – exactly 1,575 – were signed on 11th and 12th of June.

During these absolutely insane last days, as Consul in Bordeaux, more precisely on June 17 and 20, Sousa Mendes will repeat this action in Bayonne and, on 22 and 26, in Hendaye. Concerning the number of visas granted in Bayonne and Hendaye, Avraham Milgram says it is impossible to provide an exact number, because those visas were given without a consular stamp, handwritten, in a hurry and, therefore, with no possibility of being correctly registered.^[39] About this rescue operation, Yehuda Bauer, a historian of the Holocaust, sustains that it was “the largest rescue action by a single individual performed during the Holocaust”.^[40] (Bauer, 1982: 288)

As a consequence of these actions of rescue, he was called back to Lisbon. According to Rui Afonso “there were 18 accusations against Mendes which included not only the charges of having issued unauthorised visas and counterfeited passports, but also the general accusation of having created ‘an injurious situation to the prestige of Portugal towards the Spanish and German occupation authorities’”.^[41] Aristides defends himself claiming his “duty of elementary humanity”.^[42] He adds to his testimony “that he might have made a mistake, but it was without malice, always listening to the voice of his conscience, which never stopped driving him in the performance of his duties. He had done everything fully aware of his responsibilities” (*ibid*, 27).

ASM was dismissed and died in misery on April 3, 1954.

39 See Milgram, A. (2010: 101)

40 “(...) la plus grande action de sauvetage par un seul individu pendant l’Holocauste.”

41 The disciplinary proceedings of Aristides de Sousa Mendes do Amaral e Abranches, Archives of the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Lisbon), sheet 96 back side. *Apud*, Rui Afonso. (1999). “Le Wallenberg Portugais”: *Aristides Sousa Mendes*. Paris: Revue d’histoire de la Shoah – le Monde Juif, n° 165, p. 26.

42 The disciplinary proceedings of Aristides de Sousa Mendes do Amaral e Abranches, Archives of the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Lisbon), sheet 101 back side. *Apud*, Rui Afonso. (1999). “Le Wallenberg Portugais”: *Aristides Sousa Mendes*. Paris: Revue d’histoire de la Shoah – le Monde Juif, n° 165, p. 26.

3. CONCLUSION

During World War II the silence around the persecution against the Jews seemed to mean that Europe had sunk in fear, indifference or collaboration. However, in each of the countries involved, men and women stood up, shocked by the abuses they witnessed.

In this paper we tried to give the example of two heroes to whom we wanted to pay homage. A recognition was awarded to Aristides Sousa Mendes by Yad Vashem on October 18, 1966, and later to Varian Fry, in 1994. Yad Vashem assigned them the honorific title of *Righteous Among the Nations* for their action in favor of the Jews. In her article 'The Glory of the Righteous', Annette Wieviorka emphasizes the importance of this national establishment created by the State of Israel in the Act of 1953 and dedicated to the memory and history of the Holocaust:

Yad Vashem conceived the honorific title of the "Righteous Among the Nations" to honor men and women, villages or organizations that rescued the Jewish people. Following an investigation, a commission chaired by a judge of the Supreme Court awarded the title and issued a certificate and a medal engraved with an inscription: '*Le peuple juif reconnaissant. Quiconque sauve une vie sauve l'univers entier*' 'The Jewish people are thankful. Whoever saves one life saves the entire universe'. Then a tree is planted in the Righteous valley at Yad Vashem, in Jerusalem, and a plaque eternizes the name of the distinguished person, village or organization for their conduct during the Nazi occupation.^[43] (Wieviorka, 1998: 70)

Unfortunately, the rehabilitation of these two men in their homelands was delayed. Concerning Sousa Mendes, on November 15, 1986, the President of the Portuguese Republic, Mário Soares, posthumously awarded him the Order of Liberty in the rank of Officer, and his family received a public apology. A Recognition Ceremony was held in Washington on May 24, 1987, in recognition of the actions of Sousa Mendes. The 13th of March of 1988 will be remembered for the unanimous National Assembly vote for

43 "Yad Vashem, imagine le titre de " Juste des nations " pour honorer hommes et femmes villages ou organisations qui avaient sauvé des Juifs. Après enquête, celui ou celle auquel une commission, présidée par un juge de la Cour suprême, décerne ce titre se voit remettre un certificat, une médaille gravée d'une inscription: ' Le peuple juif reconnaissant. Quiconque sauve une vie sauve l'univers entier '. Un arbre est alors planté dans l'allée des Justes, à Yad Vashem, à Jérusalem, et une plaque rappelle le nom de la personne, du village, de l'organisation distinguée pour leur conduite pendant l'occupation nazie."

his rehabilitation. In May 1994, President Mário Soares, accompanied by his wife, Maria Barroso, unveiled a bust of the Consul in Bordeaux, at the Charles de Gaulle esplanade, and a plaque on 14 Louis XVIII Wharf, the address of the Portuguese Consulate in 1940. Finally, in Lisbon, 1995, 25 years after the death of Salazar and 21 years after the democratization of Portugal, the same President of the Portuguese Republic, rehabilitated the memory of Aristides de Sousa Mendes and posthumously awarded him the Grand Cross of the Order of Christ, for his actions in Bordeaux. According to António Melo, the National Assembly decreed his posthumous reinstatement as Consul in March 1996 and, in July of the same year, the President of the National Assembly, Jaime Gama, decided to compensate his family.^[44] Thereafter, a succession of homages were held all over the world. On May 25, 2011, the Passal^[45] residence became a national monument. As the images below show, we can observe the evolution of the reconstruction of the family home.



Figure 2: The Passal residence, 2011^[46]



Figure 3: The Passal residence 2015^[47]

Regarding Varian Fry, on September 13, 1967, a few months before his death, he received a late recognition. He was made a Knight of the Legion of Honour at the French Consulate, in New York. In 1991, the United States

44 See Melo (1991: 27).

45 Sousa Mendes family's residence.

46 The Passal residence, classified as a national monument on May 25, 2011. The picture is courtesy of Ana Paula Lourenço Teles (technician at the Manuel Soares de Albergaria Municipal Museum in Carregal do Sal).

47 The picture is a courtesy of Ana Paula Lourenço Teles (technician at the Manuel Soares de Albergaria Municipal Museum in Carregal do Sal).

Holocaust Memorial Council awarded him the Eisenhower Liberation Medal. On January 1st, 1998, he was also awarded with the title of honorary citizenship of the State of Israel. On the initiative of Samuel V. Brock, the U. S. General Consul in Marseilles from 1999 to 2002, the square in front of the American Consulate was renamed Varian Fry Square.

To conclude, it seems imperative to stress that these rescue actions led by the Portuguese consul, Aristides de Sousa Mendes, in Bordeaux, Bayonne and Hendaye, and by Varian Fry, in Marseilles, allow us “to sketch a resistance before the Resistance”,^[48] (Mencherini: 2000: 17) thereby legitimating a guaranteed exile for the refugees and enabling them to find a safe haven. Our new generations must be reminded of the humanitarian resistance, in order to perpetuate the duty of memory.

Clarifying the history of these two men shows the widespread interest in the role of memory, the discourse of exile and the theme of resistance, particularly in recent years. The aim of this resistance was scarcely understood twenty years before as a means of liberation. Presently, we must also evaluate it in terms of survival. War as displacement, victimisation and exclusion has always been central to the study of the Second World War, from the perspective of armed conflict. This must be changed and this is how Resistance should thus be redefined. The inclusion in the history of the resistance of those who reacted to the plight of the refugees was the cause and effect of this development. This greatly expanded the discourse of exile to include the ideas, actions and motivations of those who sheltered and helped the exiles, such as these two men – Aristides de Sousa Mendes and Varian Fry.

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"DIE WUNDE EITERT".

THE LANGUAGE OF TRAUMA, MIGRATION, AND PAIN IN *DER RUSSE IST EINER, DER BIRKEN LIEBT*

Dorothea Trotter

0 INTRODUCTION

Germany has long been a nation of immigrants, even if its citizens sometimes find it difficult to admit. Perhaps Germany does not see itself as a migration nation, because while integration is questioned by politicians and laymen alike, millions of migrants have already integrated. These migrants affirm German values and history, relating to the similarities between their cultures and the German ones, rather than focusing on the differences. Many of Germany's contemporary authors have a migration-history, and these authors have established themselves as key aids to confirming German culture and history by answering the questions of "What makes us German?" and "Who are we as a nation?" consistently, if not always clearly.

Some authors, I believe, have answered these questions clearly. For instance, Olga Grjasnowa's debut novel *Der Russe ist einer, der Birken liebt* (henceforth: "*Birken*"),^[1] unmistakably answers these questions and in interesting ways. One of the most popular books to come out in the 2010s in Germany, it is a novel about an Azerbaijani-Jewish translator and tells a migrant-narrative which obliquely challenges the integrity of national, sexual, or cultural identities. Characters have discussions about labels and cultural expectations that may sometimes seem too obviously placed in the

1 The English translation of the novel is *All Russians Love Birch Trees*. I refer to the German title throughout this essay, and as *Birken* for brevity. In this essay, I provide all the English translations for German terms and quotes. These translations are my own (literary, faithful) translation.

story, but expose even the most unaware German reader to the possibilities of identity, especially the possibilities inherent in the claim “I am German.” These possibilities also extend to transnational identity.

In addition to questioning identity, Grjasnowa asks with her novel how and whether a migrant can ever overcome his/her trauma. As people who must leave their “pot” or “plot” and can never succeed in tearing out their full length of roots to transplant them somewhere else, migrants often experience trauma in the act of migrating. Considering that many migrants are leaving situations in their home countries that present them with traumatic experiences daily (i.e. war, genocide, political persecution), there are multiple challenges to continue living in a different location and among people who did not experience the same kinds of dangers, fears, and pain.

While only seven years old, *Birken's* main character, Maria (Masha) Kogan, is exposed to structured hate and violence during the 1990 Armenian Pogrom. Forced to flee the country with her parents and begin a life in Germany, Masha arguably finds ways to be successful with a strong will and clear language skills. However, when she experiences the crippling loss of her German boyfriend, Elias, she must also address the older, long-repressed trauma of what she saw in Baku, Azerbaijan. Without ever calling Germany her home, it is there that she wants to return by the end of the novel after acknowledging pain and trauma and her connection to it. Masha's experiences connect her to a larger conversation featured in Germany and this connection reminds us that human nature will connect us to those we understand and who understand us. By supplementing challenges to identity with explorations of trauma and how they may challenge integration, Grjasnowa creates a literary space within which one can begin to understand the social and dialogical forces that play a part in making a migrant feel “at home.”

1. CHALLENGING NATIONAL IDENTITY

Masha's complicated identity is difficult to define (and perhaps one should not try), but it is ironically also one of the easiest aspects to address about the novel, since Grjasnowa provides all the details of Masha's existence. She has German/Russian heritage and comes from Azerbaijan, which has its own complicated history of empire (first Persian, then Russian, then Soviet) and oil. Despite this, Mascha considers herself neither German nor Russian, because she is Jewish, but she does not claim her Jewish identity. Her Jewish

identity could potentially reach across all national lines since religion often is transnational, and the Jewish race in particular is often considered cosmopolitan, but Masha denies her Jewish heritage. When she mentions that her family applied for a visa based on German laws granting asylum to Eastern European and Russian Jewish people, she explains that it was only a "convenience": "Offiziell gehören wir zum Kontingent [...] Aber unsere Auswanderung hatte nichts mit dem Judentum, sondern mit Bergkarabach zu tun"^[2] (Grjasnowa, 2012: 44). Her family uses its heritage to get out of a war-zone. Masha changes her relationship with her Jewish heritage later, but her initial position is that the personal impact of war and loss are stronger than any national, religious, or ethnic identity or movement.

The reader knows from Macha's experiences in Baku during her youth that she associates nationality with structured hate.

Der Hass war nichts Persönliches, er war strukturell. Die Menschen hatten keine Gesichter, keine Augen, keine Namen und keine Berufe mehr - sie wurden zu Aserbajdschanern, Armeniern, Georgiern und Russen. Menschen, die sich ein Leben lang gekannt hatten, vergaßen alles über den anderen. Nur die vermeintliche Nationalität blieb.^[3] (46-47)

Masha's early exposure to the way nationality could overshadow all other aspects of a person, or that national interests could result in the irrational hate of a person one knew as an individual, all one's life, affect her for the rest of her life. While in Germany, Masha tries to forget the trauma she experiences as a result of seeing a young Azerbaijani woman die in front of her. It is relatively simple to do in Germany, because even as she faces racist or anti-migrant tendencies there, it is decidedly less violent. The causes of death there are also much less associated with hate, like accidents at soccer games. However, her preoccupation with war and mutilation follow her throughout the novel, and it also creates a rift between her and her boyfriend.

2 "Officially we belonged to the [diasporic] group, but our migration had nothing to do with Jewishness. Rather, it had everything to do with Bergkarabach."

3 "The hate was nothing personal. It was structural. They had no face, no eyes, no names and no occupations anymore - they became Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Georgians and Russians. People who had known each other all their lives forgot everything about one another. Only the alleged nationality remained."

2. MASCHA'S TRAUMA

In *Birken*, Grjasnowa creates Masha's story of triple loss - she loses her "homeland" when she is seven, her "way of being" when her boyfriend Elias dies, and her home when she leaves Germany and goes alone to Israel. All three losses are related to trauma, and Masha goes through the same stages of grief and symptoms as those who have experienced trauma: denial and changes in plans or courses of action. To better understand Masha's trauma, one should consider how it is defined.

In *Unclaimed Experience*, trauma theorist Cathy Caruth (1996) uses her understanding of Sigmund Freud's work to define trauma as "a wound inflicted not upon the body but upon the mind [...]" (3). She also emphasizes its ephemeral existence across time, as it is "not locatable in the simple violent or original event in an individual's past, but rather in the way that its very unassimilated nature - the way it was precisely not known in the first instance - returns to haunt the survivor later" (3-4). One cannot restrict trauma to the moment of its occurrence, but the way it is experienced over and over again. Masha's grandmother, a Holocaust survivor, reflects upon this tendency in her refrain throughout the novel "alles wiederholt sich."^[4] For Masha, the trauma is previewed from the beginning, and slowly returned to throughout *Birken* until it is finally resolved at sunset in the middle of a field in Pakistan. The cyclical motion of trauma is mirrored in the aesthetic construction of the novel.

The first line of *Birken* is a rejection of a history - Masha's history: "Ich wollte nicht, dass dieser Tag begann"^[5] (9). The novel begins with a negation, an implied wish that this day had not begun. The wish is not in the subjunctive, rather in the indicative mood, past tense. Thus, "did not want" is as much a fact as "that the day began." Anyone who finds it difficult to wake up some mornings would understand Masha's wish. It is appropriate in the present action of the book, since she had just woken up and she wants to continue lying in bed and sleep. But the wish also applies to the book as a whole, for it is on this day that Elias, Masha's boyfriend, has his soccer accident that turns out to be fatal to him. Elias' death sets off the slow sequence of events that brings Masha to Israel, and then to an unidentified field in Palestine where she calls her former boyfriend, Sami, to pick her up.

This initial negation of the past reflects Masha's larger resistance to sharing her personal past with Elias. The reader must realize that the main

4 "Everything is repeated."

5 "I did not want this day to begin."

tension in Elias' and Masha's relationship is her unwillingness to tell him what happened to her in Baku. She thinks he can live without knowing, and maybe she wants to protect him, but she "hatte Eliaschas Drang, mich zu verstehen, unterschätzt"^[6] (150). She does not understand his desire to try and understand her through her past. This is because she does not recognize, until later, the relationship that her identity - one that strongly casts off national tendencies, reflects anger and sometimes violence in response to moves to label her, and responds with cynicism to the prospects of post-identity politics - has with her experiences of civil war in Azerbaijan. However, she finally understands this when she learns to connect the events in her immediate past or present to experiences further back in her temporal space. She reaches this reconciliation through conversations with others, but of course, this cannot happen until she is understood by others.

3. LANGUAGE AS A MODE OF IDENTITY

Masha's desire to command the German language well is catalyzed by an early realization she has when she visits the municipal immigration office with her parents shortly after arriving in Frankfurt, Germany. She articulates that there she learned "dass Sprachen Macht bedeuteten. Wer kein Deutsch sprach, hatte keine Stimme, und wer bruchstückhaft sprach, wurde überhört. Anträge wurden entsprechend der Schwere der Akzente bewertet"^[7] (37-8). So, Masha learned to speak excellent German. In fact, she learns four other languages (Russian, English, French, and Arabic) fluently with competence in a few others (including Italian, Polish, Azeri - the language of her childhood, and "Ballermann-Touristen Deutsch"^[8] (40). It helps that Masha was good at learning languages, and she locates this ease of language learning in her good memory along with her ability to quickly identify similarities in language structure (30); this is of course a metaphor for her structure-sensitivity in general. On the other hand, Masha cannot claim to be any more integrated just because she controls the German language (and many others) well.

Contemporary German novelist Terezia Mora shows us in *Day In Day Out* (2004) that the ability to learn languages quickly, accurately, and

6 "I had underestimated Elias' drive to understand me."

7 "Language means power. Those who speak no German have no voice. Those who speak broken German are ignored. Applications are processed according to the thickness of accents."

8 "local-beach tourist German."

without accent does “not lead to social integration in the new place, as one might expect.” “[One] is capable of translation, border crossing, and transient living, but not settling and anchoring [one’s] identity in place” (Chronister). Border crossing and transient living are celebrated in transnationalism, and Masha is a transnational character in many ways; however, for Masha the experience is negative. This is not just due to external factors, but internal ones as well. Through her language skills, Masha avoids the common way in which Germans (or any other group) qualify their immigrants. According to recent newspaper articles, such as in the German *Die Welt* (2014), one ceases being labeled as foreigner or outsider once one can speak “akzentfreies Deutsch.”^[9] But as Gero von Randow and Özlem Topçu point out in that same article, and Grjasnowa’s novel argues, it takes a lot more than accent-free German to be considered German. In fact, Masha is approached several times throughout the novel as a non-native, and she is not allowed to function unobtrusively in German spaces. For example, when she is clearly in shock about the state of her boyfriend, a doctor approaches her and assumes that she cannot speak German when she has to ask him to repeat himself (14). These ascriptions by others about her identity or whether she belongs in spaces like the German hospitals perpetually place Masha in opposition to other ways of thinking or being than her own, and this is clearly exposed by Grjasnova in *Birken*.

I use Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin’s theories to help support my claims about Grjasnowa’s novel and the migrant experience in general. He is remembered as an important Russian literary critic, essayist, and theorist and was primarily interested in the relationships between language, popular culture, and the history of the novel as a literary genre. In the early twentieth century, Bakhtin noticed details about individuals and their utterances that shed special light on contemporary issues in the increasingly polyphonic Germany of today.

4. MASCHA’S INDIVIDUAL DISCOURSE

Although one does not normally consider Bakhtin as a staple of traditional postcolonial theory (likely because his work was not known to the West or translated into English until the 1970s), it is vital to consider his concepts of dialogism and heteroglossia when discussing the heterogeneity of language and discourse. R.B. Kerhsner, a James Joyce scholar and Bakhtin defendant,

9 “Accent free German.”

summarizes heteroglossia as "a conflicting multiplicity of languages" and dialogism as:

the necessary mode of knowledge in such a world, a form of relationship between or among different languages that, like dialects, defines a sort of knowledge. Because for Bakhtin consciousness is always language, and this unavoidably ideological, the linked processes of perception and interaction with the human world are always dialogical. (Kershner, 1989: 16)

Kershner draws these definitions, as I do, from Bakhtin's essays in translator Michael Holquist's arrangement *The Dialogic Imagination* - primarily the essay "Discourse in the Novel." In these essays, Bakhtin discusses dialogism and the complex nature of European literature in light of its many languages and contexts. As David Lodge, another Bakhtin scholar, explains, Bakhtin set himself apart from Russian Formalists (even if he is often associated with them) through his alternative understandings of language. He (1990) sees "language not as system, but as social activity, 'dialogue'" (2). According to Bakhtin, an utterance "participates in [...] 'unitary language'... and at the same time partakes of social and historical heteroglossia ..." (Bakhtin, 1981: 272). While people create parole - individual, subjective utterances - they are still included in a larger discourse. I locate Masha's utterances in the novel as part of a larger discourse, both in the created Germany of the novel, but also in the Germany that creation is meant to reflect.

In the creation of Masha's character, we see that people are not only in constant dialogue with each other, but also in dialogue with *everything*. Of course this dialogism is present in many novels, but the levels of discourse in politics, critical theory, sexual identity, trauma, and especially pain are emphasized in *Birken*. The contact of dialogic languages allows one, as Bakhtin states in *The Dialogic Imagination* (1981), to "delineat[e] the boundaries of languages, creat[e] a feeling for these boundaries, [and] compels one to sense physically the plastic forms of different languages" (364). These multiple discourses are necessary because they reveal the conflict inherent in Masha's self, her inability to "come to terms" with, or express her trauma. *Birken* shows us that dialogism is a vital part of our lives and that within and without the migrant experience, living life is a matter of navigating different ways of being.

Expressing trauma is a subjective enunciating act that displays the role heteroglossia plays in the larger sphere of Masha's existence in a similar way. Bakhtin (1981) explains this role: "It is necessary that heteroglossia wash

over a culture's awareness of itself and its language, penetrate to its core, relativize the primary language system underlying its ideology and literature and deprive it of its naïve absence of conflict" (368). Masha must learn to take apart the language system and recognize her primary discourses that come into conflict with the "larger culture's awareness of itself."

By choosing one language, which Bakhtin reminds us is not a national language or the "unity of a single, closed language system, but is rather a highly specific unity of several 'languages' that have established contact and mutual recognition with each other" (295), Masha finally regains her sense of self and will to live. One cannot really function in society without participating in discourse, but if these discourses conflict, one has to choose one and develop one's ability to work with them. In order to show this, Grjasnowa centers Masha in the linguistic web of her languages, and then extends it to the semiotic realm. Masha eventually gives in to the transnational idea that she, like everyone, needs personal identity, home, security, and love; this is the discourse she will develop, and so she asks to return to it by the end. However, first, we see her reject everything else, including home, security, and love. This is what leads her to Israel, where Masha's trauma and the discussions of discourse become most apparent.

5. ISRAEL IN THE NOVEL AS HETEROGLOSSIC AND HEALING SPACE

In *Birken*, the airport in Jerusalem is initially presented as a neutral, authentic multicultural space through the multiplicity of language: "in der Flughafenhalle vermischten sich die Sprachmelodien zu einem Klangteppich: Russisch, Hebräisch, Englisch, Italienisch und Arabisch"^[10] (Grjasnowa, 2012: 161). The sounds, unified into a "carpet" despite their differentness, seem positive in the possibilities for multiculturalism. This adds to the impression that it is a safe space where families are reunited and many people from different backgrounds can cooperate with one another. However, a few lines later, it becomes an antagonistic space due to the policies of the Israeli security forces. For example, they shoot through Masha's computer merely because it has markings for the Arabic keys and they do not like the fact that her name is Maria (reminding of the Christian Virgin Mary), nor that she can speak Arabic, but not Hebrew (163). Thus, in a subtle way, what was initially neutral, or even positive, becomes tainted by

10 "The languages in the airport hall mixed the language melodies into a sound carpet of white noise: Russian, Hebraic, Russian, Italian and Arabic."

national interests and prejudice. The space becomes one power. The violence towards Masha's laptop was unnecessary, but generally all violence is. The fragments or “Überreste” of her laptop remind one of the fragments of Masha's identity. Coming to Israel exposes this more than ever.

While in Israel, Masha begins to have panic attacks as memories of her childhood become evoked by the images of war in the Gaza Strip and violence between Palestinians and Israelis. She begins to take medicine and thinks she has solved her problem: “Ich wusste nun, dass das Problem konkret war, und für dieses konkrete Problem gab es eine konkrete chemische Lösung”^[11] (224). However, it quickly becomes clear that her problem reaches beyond the physical state of her body (just as her identity is removed from her physical place). All Masha accomplishes with the pills is numb the need to confront her issues that psychologically disturb her. This is similar to her use of interpreting and leaving Germany to go to Israel in the first place. Masha runs away from her problems. Running seems like the only option when confronted with the incompatibility of ways of being.

In Israel, Masha is reminded of all the different discourses she struggled against in Germany. The largest discourse, as hinted at with the opening line of the novel, is her past. It is also the main discourse Masha denies. She is able to tell an Israeli guard that she had a German boyfriend, and that he died. However, when asked “how?” she answers of a lung infection. Her attempts to live without a past leave her fairly empty, but carefree. Suddenly, on a trip with one of her lovers to a Palestinian demonstration in Gaza, she leaves the group and runs into Ishmael, a Palestinian Muslim who was once with the Hamas. He forces Masha to articulate what she believes in: “An was glaubst du?” (276). At first, Masha answers “An nichts.” But then:

“Gott?”

„Nein.“

„Kultur?“

„Auch nicht.“

„Nation?“

„Weißt du, in meiner Kindheit gab es einen gepackten Koffer zu Hause, für den Fall der Fälle. In unserem Fall war es die ehemalige Aktentasche meines Großvaters, und darin waren frische Unterhosen, Familienfotos, Silberlöffel und Goldkronen, das Kapital, das sie unter dem kommunistischen Regime

11 “I knew now that the problem was concrete, and that for this concrete problem was a concrete chemical solution.”

akkumulieren konnten. Die Armenier waren schon lange aus der Stadt fortgejagt worden, und nicht wenige von ihnen wurden exekutiert. Meine Oma, die die Shoah..."^[12] (276).

Masha is about to say something about her grandmother, who had been interred in a concentration camp and survived, but then she is interrupted by Ismael: "Oh, Anspielungen!"^[13] (276). When Masha tries to "allude" to her heritage, it complicates the significance of Masha speaking about her past when asked about her beliefs. The question remains why she chooses to reference her Jewish heritage, but also why she does this with Ishmael's impetus. Perhaps it has to do with the fact that he is the only one who would understand her trauma. His experiences with blood and death connect him to Masha in ways that she could not connect to some of her German friends: "(...) überall war dieser Geruch von geronnenem Blut. Alles was ich wahrnahm, war dieser Verwesungsgeruch, und obwohl ich selber nur eine Fleischwunde abbekommen hatte, fühlte ich mich tot"^[14] (277). One could say that from these shared experiences of trauma, both characters have similar ways of being and operate, perhaps, through the same discourse.

6. PAIN AS A UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE

Grjasnowa introduces this interpretation in the moment when Masha approaches Elias the first time after he has had his accident: "'Es geht mir nicht gut,' sagte Elias so leise, dass es unmöglich mir gelten konnte, und mir fiel plötzlich ein, wie er vor langem festgestellt hatte, es gäbe nur zwei Schulen, die Alte und die Frankfurter"^[15] (16). Masha's connection to Elias' opinion on two schools of critical thought seems anomalous until one

12 "What do you believe in?" "Nothing." "God?" "No." "Culture?" "Also no," "Nation?" You know, during my childhood we had a packed suitcase at home, in case of emergency. In our case [the use of this homophone is not coincidental], it was my grandfather's former briefcase. In it, we had fresh underwear, family photos, silver spoons, gold crown, the capital that they were able to accumulate under the communist regime. The Armenians had long been chased away from the city and not a few had been executed. My grandmother, who the Holocaust..."

13 "Oh, allusions!"

14 "(...) everywhere this smell of coagulated blood. All I perceived was this smell of decay, and although I had got only a flesh wound, I felt dead."

15 "'I'm not doing well,' said Elias so quietly, that I was sure it wasn't meant for me and suddenly the fact that he had long ago determined that there were only two schools, the Frankfurter and the old school, popped into my mind."

considers that in evoking the idea of schools of critical theory, Masha was evoking discourse. When one also considers that Elias's statement "could not be meant for her," one can see, using theories about pain, how the relationship between pain and discourse is confirmed.

Literary scholar Elaine Scarry explains some ways for thinking about pain and its aestheticism in literature. In her chapter "Pain and Imagining" from the book *The Body in Pain*, Scarry (1985) states:

[P]hysical pain is exceptional in the whole fabric of psychic, somatic, and perceptual states for being the only one that has no object. Though the capacity to experience physical pain is as primal a fact about the human being as is the capacity to hear, to touch, to desire, to fear and to hunger, it differs from these events, and from every other bodily and psychic event, by not having an object in the external world. (161)

Since pain does not have an object, it is difficult to express it. Scarry points out that pain cannot successfully be rendered into language other than "pre-language of cries and groans" (172). Masha seems to hear Elias 'say' his pain, but it is not meant for her. Rather, it is him "rediscovering speech" and regaining "his powers of self-objectification" (*id. ibid.*). These are private moments of relating primary discourse to prepare the self for engagement with others. The enunciation Elias makes cannot be meant for Masha, because she cannot understand the primary discourse - but only because she has not enunciated it for herself yet. When Elias makes the statement, Masha cannot understand, but she can by the end of *Birken*, when she finally learns to enunciate her experiences of trauma and pain: "Überall waren Schreie, polyphones Geschrei und eine langgezogene weibliche Stimme. Das Geräusch eines aufprallenden Körpers. Die Blutlache"^[16] (282).

Grjasnowa's description of the way Masha experienced the death of the woman in Baku solidifies the literary connections of war, blood, and death to voices and vocal expression. This description of one woman's death amidst a chaos of anonymous cries is conceptually simple to relate to a violent death. However, the image of violence becomes excruciatingly apparent in Grjasnowa's narration of the sounds of the body dying. The location of the destruction is not in the bullet or a bomb, but rather in the body itself. The linguistic connection of blood to laughter with the German word

16 "There were cries everywhere, polyphonic screaming, and one long, drawn out woman's voice. The sound of an exploding body. A pool of blood."

“Blutlache” is perhaps a coincidence, but relates the concepts of body and expression together.

Just as it takes the reader many moments of imagining to understand the nature of the woman’s death, it takes Masha a long time to relate it to someone else. *Birken* shows us the difficulty of enunciating trauma. It is not her own body, or her death, but Masha experiences a pain here that she spends most of the novel resisting to express. Speaking to Ishmael and articulating a connection with her past begins the process that allows her to articulate, for the reader and herself, what she experienced in Baku. The fact that Masha should chose to participate in this discourse, rather than all others, lies perhaps in its universality. Pain is a universal sensation that all people are exposed to, at one time or another. As Elias’ nurse states so pithily, “Schmerzen gehören zum Leben dazu”^[17] (21). However, as Grjasnowa points out, the experience is always individual. Elias has only his experience and Masha experiences her individual pain of seeing his pain. Yet, as Scarry reminds one (1985), through language, one takes the bodily experience of pain outside of its self-contained loop within the body and “project[s] it into the external world. It is through this movement out into the world that the extreme privacy of the occurrence [...] begins to be sharable, that sentience becomes social and thus acquires its distinctly human form” (170). Sociology scholar Peter Adler extends this understanding in his essay on multiculturalism (1977):

All human beings share a similar biology, universally limited by the rhythms of life. All individuals in all races and cultures must move through life’s phases on a similar schedule: birth, infancy, adolescence, middle age, old age, and death. Similarly, humans everywhere embody the same physiological functions of ingestion, irritability, metabolic equilibrium, sexuality, growth, and decay. Yet the ultimate interpretation of human biology is a cultural phenomenon: that is, the meanings of human biological patterns are culturally derived.

Adler emphasizes the universal aspects of being human, those experiences and sensations that are transcultural and global. Yet, then Adler determines that what is unique and can be given the sub-label of national identity (or any other sub-label) in this factor is the *interpretation*. It is the way that we chose to handle those physiological factors that determines whether or not we belong to a certain group. In consideration of this context, one can

17 “Pain is a part of life”.

consider trauma a physiological function as well, especially since it incites nosebleed in Masha in Baku as well as in Palestine. The nosebleed reflects a physiological connection with the trauma, but since blood is also a symbol of family and life, the reader can see how trauma is related to culture and heritage as well.

7. CONCLUSION: THE DISCOURSE OF HOME

Masha initially handles her trauma, both unique and universal, by calling on her heritage. However, it seems that what finally resolves Masha's trauma is remembering the name of the woman who died - „Gajana war ihr Name”^[18] (283). In affirming her life through her name, Grjasnowa calls on the relationship between memory and language that was introduced at the beginning of the novel.

German literary historicist Necia Chronister (2014) points out that much of the literature following the “Berlin Republic” era has an “aesthetic emphasis on the fragmentary and prosthetic nature of memory.” A lot of contemporary literary theory deals with the way German authors use language to express national trauma, usually through a personal mirror. Of course, this relates specifically to Germany's history and the difficulty for Germans coming to terms with their National Socialist past. At first glance, it seems unreasonable to associate Masha, whose grandmother suffered under said regime, with this past, but to some extent Masha does this herself.

When Elias dies, Masha feels guilty for not waking up in time to see that the wound was forming pus and beginning an infection. Thus, the pain of his loss is wound up with guilt in the way that one could say Germans experience their past. World War I and II were catastrophic for the world, Europe, and Germany as well. However, the crimes instigated by the National Socialists have created a situation of guilt for many Germans that extends many generations after the war. Ever since the fall of the Third Reich, Germans struggle to create literature and film that address the culpability of German ancestors and the basic human horror of their actions during World War II. Quantitatively, the greatest victims of this war were the Jewish-Germans, Russians, French, or Eastern Europeans. One can argue that they are used to the discourse of pain and loss. However, by mixing the pain of Elias' loss with the guilt that she may have prevented it, Masha aligns herself with German discourse of pain and guilt. This does not mean she is considering herself German, but in this

18 “Her name was Gayana.”

way she can connect herself to Germany and parts of its history in ways that even some native Germans cannot.

By the end of the novel, Masha wants to return to Germany. There is “home” for her: “Ich wollte nach Hause. Zurück zu meiner Mutter, ich wollte, dass sie mich beschützt. Ich wollte zurück zu Elischa, mich an sein Hemd klammern und seinen Geruch einatmen”^[19] (280). Her mother’s protection and Elias’ security and familiar smell make up a possible discourse of home. Unfortunately, Elias’ death makes a return to this kind of home impossible. However, perhaps because Masha finally connected to her trauma that makes up a larger part of her identity, she will be able to find others to connect to in that discourse. Masha will find “home” in her friends who largely experienced the same challenges and trauma she has, and she will find it in her memory and heritage.

Throughout *Birken*, Masha displays many of the transnational tendencies to see herself in forms of “other.” We see her cross national, political, religious and linguistic borders. However, as the novel goes on, one sees that she does not do this easily. Even as Masha rejects all forms of scripted identity, it becomes clear that while transnationalism blurs the primacy of self over “other,” one cannot lose one’s idea of “self.” One can find this “self” and sense of security in the “home.” *Birken* can help one see that home is not a particular place, occupation, or language, but rather in those who accept one and can understand one. Grjasnowa builds on the validity of a post- or transnational character by showing that even if Masha rejects nation or identity and its accompanying discourses, she needs people, love, and belonging - she still participates in discourse as Russian formalist theorist Mikhail Bakhtin describes is necessary for living. Even if she is a fictional character, Grjasnowa paints Masha as a figure who is “only human” and through Masha, the novel shows us that we all need “Heim.”^[20]

In *Der Russe ist einer, der Birken liebt*, Grjasnowa shows us that the migrant is not lost even if s/he is homeless, and s/he does not need to assimilate when different. Since labels and classifications are imaginary anyway, the migrant also does not have to look for acceptance under these terms. Instead, s/he must make sure s/he has a strong continuity with his/her past while building strong relationships with the people s/he comes into contact with and participating in these discussions. This is the kind of integration we look for in the world today.

19 “I wanted to go home. Back to my mother, I wanted her to protect me. I wanted to go back to Elias, hang onto his shirt and breath in his smell.”

20 Home

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KATZENBERGE.

A CARRIER OF A DISPLACED MEMORY

Ana do Carmo

An dem Morgen, als ich den Hof und Großvaters Grab verließ,
um in die Vergangenheit zu fahren, roch sie [die Luft] nach
aufgewühltem Humus.

(Janesch, 2012: 12), in *Katzenberge*^[1]

The quotation opening this article, taken from the contemporary German novel *Katzenberge* [Cat Mountains] (first published in 2010) by the young German writer Sabrina Janesch (born in 1985), intends to sow the seeds for an approach to this novel as a *locus* of latency within cultural memory.

This novel, in its representation of a family saga and its troubling relationship with the past, offers an example of how a personal trauma intertwined with a collective past event can first be forgotten, in the sense of having been repressed, before becoming accessible to a greater audience at a later time. At the level of the text's discourse but also at the level of its reception, it is as if the traumatic past event reappeared later, in a younger generation, after a "latency period".

At first, *Katzenberge* is narrated simultaneously across two levels: the individual and the collective. The individual, through a first person narrator, as Nele, Nelunia Leibert, a Polish-German girl, who travels to her family's roots after her grandfather's funeral in Silesia, western Poland. During her trip, she is impelled to discover the truth about her grandfather's life, in particular his origins in a village in former eastern Galicia. The collective comes in a third person narrative in which the temporal and spatial range of remembrance reaches far further. By starting this setting with *Großvater*

1 [On the morning when I left the farm and grandfather's grave to travel into the past, it [the air] smelled of churned humus.] All translations are by the author of the article, where not indicated otherwise.

sagte [Grandfather said], the narrator refers to the population settlement in Silesia, after their forced move from the former region of Galicia.^[2]

This novel refers therefore to two historical and geographic regions in Central Europe that we would like to situate on a map only for a better understanding of the location of the forced migrations that took place in those regions: Silesia and Galicia.

Galicia was once a small kingdom whose core lay within current regions of western Ukraine and eastern Poland. People from various nationalities, therefore speaking different languages, inhabited it then: “(...) so lebten in Żdźary Wielkie auf kleinstem Raum Polen und Ukrainer eng beieinander und sprachen beide Sprachen.” (SJ: 254).^[3]

Briefly, after the beginning of World War II, with the German attack on Poland on 1 September 1939 – and the subsequent Soviet Invasion of this country on 17 September 1939 – the eastern part of Polish Galicia became part of the Soviet Union (and today it belongs to Ukraine), while the western part of Galicia (that nowadays belongs to Poland) was occupied by the Germans.

As a result of the attack on the Soviet Union by the German Reich on 22 June 1941 (Operation Barbarossa), the German military also occupied the Soviet section of Galicia. By this time, many Polish people had already fled to the West while others were deported to forced labor camps or to concentration camps in Germany.

In January 1944, when the Red Army entered Nazi-occupied areas and began to recapture its lost territories in Eastern Poland (and merciless fighting took place between the Red Army, the Ukrainian Army and the Polish Army), masses of civilians had to escape westwards in search of safety. Many subsequently settled in the region of Silesia: “Charakterlos und katholisch habe er das gefunden, nach Schlesien zu kommen, wo es noch nach den Deutschen stank.”^[4] (SJ: 14).

The traces of these historical and geographical regions, Galicia and Silesia, emerge from the realm of the private memories of those migrants into the public sphere of historical reckoning of that past of Central Europe, through a novel.

2 The name of this historical province in Eastern Europe is not to be confused with the current autonomous community in northwest Spain “Galicia” or “Galiza”.

3 [(...) and so Poles and Ukrainians lived in the smallest space in Żdźary Wielkie close together and speaking both languages]. All quotations from the novel are indicated as SJ followed by the page number.

4 [He had found it unprincipled and catholic to come to Silesia, where it still stank of the Germans].

Indeed, *Katzenberge* serves both as a reflection on Nele's individual memory ("Vom Ort, an dem Großvater einmal gelebt hat" [SJ: 179])^[5], but also as an archive for the collective memory of this specific period of 20th century Central and Eastern Europe – "[...] die Flüchtlinge aus Galizien seien wie menschliche Heuschrecken gewesen" (SJ: 169).^[6]

In this sense, we may perceive *Katzenberge* as a "memory reservoir". In other words, the past event is remembered through the plot as part of a family history – the grandfather's flight from his origins in Galicia into Silesia, as well as the "mystery" surrounding the disappearance of his brother. It is also remembered as a traumatic collective past, taking into account the waves of immigration and the horrors those flights represented for those involved.

As such, these memories were "exteriorized, objectified, stored" (Assmann, 2010: 110) through their depiction in the novel, their being shared with its readers, and their leading us to consider *Katzenberge* as what Aleida and Jan Assmann called "a medium of cultural memory" (Erll, 2011: 27).

The concept of "cultural memory" proves a multifarious notion,^[7] evincing mainly the relationship between culture and memory as a form of rendering the past. Aleida and Jan Assmann develop this concept by suggesting that "cultural memory is the arsenal of symbolic forms, images, myths, sagas and legends that, even when they come close to disappearance and oblivion, have the potential to become accessible across millennia and be reactivated in the treasure store of people". That is to say, this notion is tied to a material objectivation (Erll, 2011: 28), to artifacts, such as literary texts, pictures and sculptures as well as spatial compositions (monuments, architecture and landscape) and temporal orders (feasts, customs and rituals) that may remind people of ancient cultural traditions or, in other words, may trigger their memories. Moreover, as added by Jan Assmann (2010: 111), in order to be re-embodied in the sequence of generations, these artifacts need an institutional preservation.

Literature represents such an institution. Therefore, as a literary work that gives an immediacy to historical events and conveys the issue of the flight of ethnic German and Polish refugees from former Galicia into Silesia

5 [From the place where grandfather had once lived in].

6 [the refugees from Galicia were like human locusts].

7 There have been attempts to provide an overview of the state of the art in this field and to synthesize different research traditions. See for example the anthologies of theoretical texts such as: *The Collective Memory Reader* by Olick et al. (2011), *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies* by A. Erll and A. Nünning (2010) or *Memory in Culture* by A. Erll (translated by Sara Young) (2011).

after World War II, as a collectively shared knowledge of a past event that still “haunts” the present, we are able to reassert that *Katzenberge* might prove an example of such an artifact.

Noteworthy is how the concept of “memory” associated to this novel becomes deployed metaphorically both regarding how the narrator reconstructs and represents that shared past and how the reader, bringing it into the present, thereby “actualizes” it.

The limitations of this article do not allow for any in depth discussion of the “reception theory” paradigm as characterized, for instance, by Robert Holub (2002) – when this author pays attention to the function of the reader in the literary experience process – or by Hans Robert Jauss (1982) – emphasising the importance of the reader’s interpretation. What is important for the purpose of this paper is evincing how this novel contributes to the discourse of the expansion of cultural memory and serves as a cue for discussing the images conveyed.

Moreover, on an individual level, *Katzenberge* also drives the creation of certain images of that past in the readers’ minds, of which readers may only have been vaguely aware before in broad terms, if at all. Nevertheless, there remains a difference when this fictional text and its version of the past is read and circulated either as a new subject or among members of a community of remembrance.

As far as the latter sense is concerned, *Katzenberge* even proves able to sustain a group’s identity. Jan and Aleida Assmann (as stated by Olick, 2011: 213) declare that the symbols of cultural memory reproduce particular features and traits that endow cohesiveness on a certain community. Broadly speaking, knowledge about the past and how that past is interpreted and transmitted holds importance to that community’s identity. This is also one of the reasons why memory-based issues are nowadays on the political and cultural agendas of many countries.

We are also aware that a society does not possess an organic memory and therefore remains dependent either on eyewitnesses to history or on media, such as literature, to transmit, for instance, issues of trauma and witnessing. Therefore, when *Katzenberge* is read and understood by an emotionally loaded community that went through those issues, this certainly structures its world and fosters a consciousness of unity and a sense of belonging.

We might say that in the period of violence and brutalization related to the previously mentioned forced migration of 20th century Central and Eastern Europe was repressed and “returned” to the present time through

storage in a book. Therefore, the discovery of a book makes a forgotten, discarded or even misplaced traumatic knowledge return to the public sphere in a later period (Assmann, 1997). And this “comeback” in written form helps ensure the preservation, firstly, of a greater distance and, secondly, it also proves conducive to a more critical and a different comprehensive approach to that past.

The novel therefore helps in the process of working through a troubled past that implies a delay or lapse of time, that is to say, a “latency”^[8] period, for reflection necessary to attaining the present goals and even shaping identities. As such, I argue *Katzenberge* represents a “locus of latency” containing within itself a medium of cultural memory as seen above.

To justify this argument, I would begin with Sigmund Freud and his attempt to apply his individual psychological language to the question of trauma and memory at the level of collectivities as he developed in his book *Moses and Monotheism*.

As stated by Jeffrey Olick (2007: 22) in his article “From Usable Past to the Return of the Repressed”, at the core of Freud’s work lies the theory that the return to monotheism religion and the foundation of the Jewish identity was in some way compelled by the memory of the traumatic event represented by the Jews having murdered Moses, “their Father”. That is to say, in the sense of a return of the repressed memory of patricide.^[9] For Freud, as stated by Olick (2007: 23), the process of this traumatic memory took the same path in the Jewish people as it does in the neurotic individual: “early trauma – defence – latency – outbreak of the illness – partial return of the repressed”.

8 Etymologically, “latency” means, from the Latin, the “condition of being concealed, meaning a delay between stimulus and response” (from <http://www.etymonline.com>), or “to lie hidden”.

9 For additional clarification, I quote Jeffrey Olick’s article (2007:22), as far as Freud’s argument is concerned: “Essentially, Freud argues that the Egyptian Pharaoh Amenhotep IV, who later renamed himself Akhenaten, was the true founder of monotheism when he created a state religion centered on worship of the sun-god Aton. Moses was not a Jewish baby found among the reeds by the Pharaoh’s childless daughter. Rather, he was a priest of Akhenaten’s cult. Following Akhenaten’s death, however, Egypt returned to polytheism. Seeking to preserve the monotheistic cult, Moses chose a backward tribe of Semites to carry it on (hence, Freud argues, it was not God who chose the Jews, but Moses who did so). Because the cult could not survive in Egypt, Moses led his followers into exile. However, his people soon tired of Moses’s particularly stringent monotheism, rebelled against it, and killed Moses, their “father”. For a while, they returned to their earlier polytheism, eventually joining with another tribe that worshipped a god named Yahweh. A powerful priest of this religion was also named Moses. Over time, the fused nation returned to the practice of monotheism by combining the earlier Egyptian monotheism of Akhenaten with the religion of Yahweh”.

Thus, here I address Olick's question, which is: how can the mechanism of latency associated with the bringing of a traumatic past into the present possibly exist in a community that possesses neither mind nor consciousness, as stated above?

Of great help at this point is, as referenced by Olick, the work *Moses the Egyptian: the memory of Egypt in Western monotheism* by Jan Assmann. This author applies Freud's theory as a means of repression of guilt and trauma linked to monotheistic religious theory, while nevertheless disagreeing with Freud, in his rejection of the need for psychoanalytical "excavation" in order to retrieve these repressed memories. That is to say, for Jan Assmann the psychoanalytical approach cannot be applied to explain the return of repressed traumatic pasts as far as a society itself is concerned but according to this author, "the truth can be found in the **texts** themselves." (Assmann, 1997, my emphasis)

Indeed, we might take into consideration Assmann's theory to assert that, in terms of a community affected by a repressed traumatic past, the latency period necessary to deal with it may afterwards be redefined through books, in other words, in cultural rather than in psychological terms.^[10]

Texts, which speak of memory, remembrance, forgetting and therefore serve as an archive of lost memories, might sustain the gap, the latency period, linked to the working through of a trauma that gradually returns to the present in order to serve its needs. In this context, *Katzenberge* might stand as a metonymy for such a text.

Up to this point, I have approached the novel as a locus of latency within cultural memory from the level of its reception. However, *Katzenberge's* plot itself, at the level of the discourse, depicts a trauma in latency.

The perspective structure of the narrative also permits the staging and reflection of a repressed past that was silenced and remained buried in oblivion for more than a generation. This is approached and connected through many symbolic literary devices.

At first, the grandfather's death, at the beginning of the novel, represents the point of departure for Nele Leibert, a young journalist whose job

10 Jan Assmann (1997) mentions that "in cultural terms 'latency' can assume many different forms": a first form he called "the nonrepresentable traumatic" ("collective or cultural repression, that occurs under traumatic conditions", with the Holocaust an example); a second form "the implicit" ("implicit knowledge which is too self-evident to become part of explicit communication and social consciousness") and a third form "the marginalized" (as soon as cultural knowledge ceases to be circulated and "becomes marginalized because the carrier group is persecuted or loses its influence, or because the knowledge is superseded by a new paradigm, a shift of interest", remaining, "however stored in books and thus 'returning' at a later time).

is to research and write stories from and for others (which is also significant), to undertake the journey necessary to working through a trauma. Indeed, after having been encouraged by her mother^[11] to search for their origins (with the opposition of the rest of the family), Nele travels eastwards, from a present point of view, with her journey, told by a first person narrator, being juxtaposed with her grandfather's journey westwards, as a third person narrator.

Stanislaw Janeczko never went back again, but Nele brings his life back into the present as a remembrance of a traumatic past. Indeed, while Nele travels in trains, buses, trucks and vans from Berlin to Ukraine, we get to know about "Dadjo's" first arrival in an abandoned farmhouse in Silesia, then, about his journey to what is now Poland, where he arrived as a traumatized refugee after the ethnic massacres at the end of the Second World War.

Nele's journey ends in the remote Gallician village where her grandfather was born, his beginnings in a place where Ukrainians and Poles lived side by side until the massacres began. Throughout her journey, we perceive how Nele simultaneously pushes her own life forward, while the narrator makes us realize how she could even have reunited with her family if only she had set off earlier.

We might assert the journey of the grandchild conveys a means of working through a repressed past that itself arose out of the journey of her grandfather in the opposite direction. The structure of the novel is circular. The last untitled chapter closes the first, meaning that the issue, which had remained, as was referred to, buried in oblivion for more than a generation had been resolved.

The reason for the silence lay certainly in the traumatic nature of the original story. Nevertheless, the trauma in latency could be worked through after her grandfather's death by means of the previously mentioned grandchild's journey. This might also be confirmed by another symbolic reference, the disappearance of the dense fog that hangs over the entire novel: "Ein letztes Mal blicke ich hinüber zu Dadjos Grab, das große

11 ("Es gibt da etwas, das ich mir von dir wünsche. Für uns alle, auch für dich. Nimm dir bitte ein paar Tage frei. Nutze die Gelegenheit und fahre nach Galizien. Niemand ist jemals dorthin zurückgekehrt, du hättest die Chance, zu sehen, wo wir eigentlich herkommen." [There's something that I want from you. For all of us, even for you. Please take a few days off. Take the opportunity and go to Galicia. No one has ever returned there, you have the chance to see where we really come from] [SJ: 41])

J reflektiert die Sonnenstrahlen. (...) Weit am Horizont zeichnen sich die Katzenberge ab; auch von ihren Hügeln und Kuppen ist der Dunst gewichen.”^[12] (SJ: 270).

The title *Katzenberge*, the “Cat Mountains” that Stanislaw Janeczko perceives to the west and, especially, the deciduous forest on the other side^[13] add another symbol representing trauma, that of “loss of home”. Thus, those hills made him remember, as a refugee from a remote Gallician village, that he had no way out and had lost his home forever.

At this point I would like to highlight that besides “excavating” trauma and bringing it into the present at a later period, as associated with the Freudian notion of “latency” referred to above, another central question in this novel lies on Nele Leibert wondering just how her family, and especially her grandfather, survived those events.

The interweaving of Nele’s story with that of her grandfather therefore encapsulates a process of remembering that means the creation of memory. Of particular note is how the weaving together of both stories is conveyed in a “realistic” tone intermixed with superstition. The reader is confronted with the existence of “dark forces” and fantasy elements in the world portrayed in contrast to the “modern-day” characters and their lives, with the novel verging on a certain magical realism.

I would like to emphasize how we may distinguish another format of memory conceptualized by Jan Assmann from within the plot of the novel. I am speaking of “communicative memory” (Erll and Nünning, 2010: 111). This type of unstructured memory applies to the everyday social and expressive living memory and occurs both in the course of everyday life and between grandparent and grandchild. The above mentioned and recurrently used expression *Großvater sagte* at the beginning of a chapter identifies the other narrative level, which helps the reader perceive it as the story of his lived-through experience. An experience that is exchanged in an informal way with his grandchild, that is, across a generation. Before her journey, Nele Leibert had only a fantasized and nostalgic idea of the province from where her grandfather had been forced to flee. Afterwards she would be able to remember and recognize it.

12 [One last time I look over at Dadjos grave, the big J reflected the sun’s rays. (...) Far on the horizon, the Cat Mountains heave into sight; the haze was also gone from its hills and knolls]

13 (“Im Westen war eine Hügelkette zu erkennen, die Katzenberge. In der anderen Richtung, gen Osten, erstreckte sich eine feuchte, ausgedehnte Mulde, an deren Ende Janeczko einen dichten Laubwald ausmachte” [In the West, a ridge could be perceived, the cat mountains. In the other direction, towards the east, a wet, wide trough extended into which end Janeczko could see a dense, deciduous forest.] [JS: 29])

The previous remembrance of a traumatic event not through direct recollection, and therefore not self-experienced, but by means of a mediated image, an object, a story and behaviours passed down within the family (in the case of this novel by her grandfather's storytelling), was approached by Marianne Hirsch (stated by Olick, 2011: 346), who defined it as "postmemory". Through the stories told by her grandfather, the protagonist of this novel belongs to this "generation of postmemory". Those stories even compelled her to decide to follow and revisit that place from the perspective of a contemporary traveller, in a "self-finding process". Indeed, this decision had much to do with the process of identity formation of this "postgeneration", seeking to form its own identity.

Without getting into the subject of whether or not the novel represents an autobiography, its writer, Sabrina Janesch herself¹⁴ (born in 1985 as stated above) belongs to the "postgeneration", as coined by Marianne Hirsch. Furthermore, according to the same author (*apud* Olick, 2011: 347), this term incorporates "a particular end-of-century/turn of century moment looking backward rather than ahead and of defining the present in relation to a troubled past". Again, "defining the present in relation to a troubled past", while between that past and the present there stands a latency period, necessary for the grandchildren to look at their grandparents' lives, acknowledging what they went through, but without having to evaluate the moral consequences of their actions although taking due notice of their involvement in historical processes.

This evaluation came rather from the parents' generation, who, as Jörg Magenau (2010) in his critical review of *Katzenberge* states, "confronted earlier National Socialism rather as a political, sociological and ideological subject and the grandchildren are able nowadays to take it rather as a literary subject".

As we have seen, when history bears the marks of trauma it needs a latency period for that trauma to be acknowledged both by perpetrators and by victims or their descendants.

The Second World War created particular and long-lasting "latent" silences for many European countries. A literary work, such as *Katzenberge*, a medium of cultural memory, might help in achieving a healthy working through of that repressed past in order to foster an understanding of it,

14 Just like her narrator, Sabrina Janesch is the daughter of a German father and a Polish mother, bilingual, growing up in Germany where she went to school and considered a Pole there, while, when spending her vacations in Silesia, she mutated into being a German. This dual experience of estrangement also constitutes a prerequisite for her novel.

reconciliation among the communities affected^[15] and, most importantly, prevent any repetition.

I am aware that even to this day there is a not completely solved conflict between Poland and its neighbours on either side. *Katzenberge*, written in German but a rather “Polish novel” – because it describes the “other side”, that of the Poles, who were settled in Silesia, and not that of the Germans who lost their home in that region at the end of the Second World War –, whilst bringing this “slice of history” down to a very personal level, still opens up new possibilities for addressing that conflict and enabling the disclosure of its thematic content, even among international audiences who may be unaware of this history.

For all the aforementioned reasons I simply agree with Günter Grass, when the Nobel Literature Laureate states (as quoted on the back cover): “This book deserves many readers”.

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15 The writer herself confirms this intention in interview: “Insofern ist es ein Beitrag, hoffentlich zu einer Art deutsch-polnischen Verständnis” zu kommen. [So, hopefully, it is a contribution to a kind of German-Polish understanding]. (This interview is available at <http://www.sabrina-janesch.de/autorin/interview-mit-sabrina-janesch/>, retrieved June 11, 2014).

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ON DEPORTATIONS OF LITHUANIANS.

(BIO)POLITICS, THE TESTIMONY OF DALIA GRINKEVIČIŪTĖ AND STRATEGIES OF AMNESIA

Gintarė Bernotienė

In the Lithuanian society of the 1940s, “the disruptive forces that principally shape the history and diffusion of identity“, as Stephen Greenblatt (2009: 2) put it, smashed the statehood of the independent republic, caused a big loss of population,^[1] and condemned the rest of the nation that did not evade the Soviet regime to the partial diffusion of national identity. The documentary prose of former deportee Dalia Grinkevičiūtė, whose writings entered the literary canon only 40 years later, in 1990, when Lithuania restored its independence, is analysed in this paper. During these 40 years, her memoirs known as a book *Lietuviai prie Laptevų jūros (Lithuanians by the Laptev Sea)* (Grinkevičiūtė, 1997) had passed the phases of forced oblivion, triumphant publicity and the shadow of apparent undervaluation, notwithstanding their huge role in reconstructing the national Lithuanian identity after the occupation.

I recall these memoirs that served as a strong nation binding thread in the combined sociological and postcolonial perspective and with a somewhat mistrusted applicability of the latter concept to the occupied Lithuania, its Soviet and post-Soviet realities. However, the concepts of enslavement, otherness, estrangement, experience of oppression, personal and collective trauma and identity, as well as amnesia, from which the Soviet regime and its inheritors suffered, are important terms in this research.

1 Because of the deportations, emigration and civil resistance to the Soviet occupation of 1940–1953, Lithuania lost one fourth of its inhabitants, and including the victims of the WWII this loss makes one third of the total population.

1. HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES

Historical and political circumstances define the testimonial writing of Grinkevičiūtė as a form of cultural memory. Her broadly worldwide circulating text^[2] may be regarded as well as a form of social memory containing specific documentary elements of the wide social stratum that was deported from Lithuania to Siberia in 1941. The Soviet Union occupied Lithuania in June 1940 and in July started to exterminate the Lithuanian political and army elite.^[3] The deportations, which in the Genocide Convention are defined as a conscious act of genocide, were sanctioned by the highest Soviet Union officials. The motives for extermination of Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians and Ukrainians were political and ethnical (Anušauskas, 2013: 8). The intention was to “russianize” the vacated territories. The deportations of 1941 aimed to eliminate the cultural and economic elite. The upper class of Lithuania, as well as of other nations in the Soviet Union, was declassified according to the widespread Bolshevik and Chekist terminology developed back in the times of the October Revolution and the Russian Civil War. The wealthy citizens were called “counterrevolutionaries”, “anti-Soviet”, “socially dangerous elements”, “enemies of the state”, “traitors of the homeland”, “criminals”, “nationalists”, “*kulaks*”, therefore, they had to be eliminated or isolated (imprisoned or deported) from the “nation building socialism” (Grunskis, 1995: 17). The distinctive feature of 1941 deportations was that men were separated from their families and taken to the labour camps.^[4] The Grinkevičiai family was a typical example of this: teacher Grinkevičius, the father, died in 1943 in the Sverdlovsk area camp, while the mother, with their daughter Dalia and son, was deported to the Altai region and later, in 1942, together with other 152 Lithuanian and Jewish families sent 800 km beyond the Arctic Circle to the uninhabited island of Trofimovsk, where they lived until 1947. The mortality rate in the island was higher than during the Leningrad Siege: half of the island inhabitants died.

Grinkevičiūtė with her sick, dying mother illegally returned from exile to the Soviet Lithuania in 1949. In the spring of 1950 while taking care of

2 Publications of Dalia Grinkevičiūtė in other languages: English (Grinkevičiūtė, 2000; 2002), German (Grinkevičiūtė, 2014), Italian (Grinkevičiūtė, 2009), French (Grinkevičiūtė, 2011 a), Russian (Grinkevičiūtė, 2011 b).

3 First plans for extermination of Lithuanians were prepared in the Soviet Union back in 1939 (Anušauskas, 2013: 20).

4 One tenth of the exiles were 60 years and older, one third of the exiles that reached the places of deportation were children. (Anušauskas, 1996: 136)

her mother, 23 year-old Grinkevičiūtė secretly wrote the first, now called the extended, version of her memoirs. She had to hide her manuscript. Like the classical Greek tragedy heroine Antigone, Grinkevičiūtė dared to bury her deceased mother without a permission from local authorities in the cave she dugged inside their native home in Kaunas. Likewise, she buried her early writings in a glass jar and was never able to return to them during her lifetime.^[5] After a while, she was arrested, imprisoned in Unzlag camp in the Gorky district of Russia and subsequently exiled again to Siberia, Yakutia. Grinkevičiūtė was allowed to return to Lithuania in 1956, after Stalin's death in 1953. Then, in 1960, she graduated from the Kaunas Institute of Medicine and worked as a doctor in a small remote town of Laukuva. She wrote the abridged Russian version of her memoirs of exile in 1976 and smuggled it abroad. Parts of this factography of exile were translated into French, English and published abroad; it was published in Russian in the Russian dissident press^[6] in Paris. Fragments of Grinkevičiūtė's memoirs reached Lithuanian readers only in 1988.^[7] The manuscript of the first version was found in 1991 and published in 1997 as a book named *Lithuanians by the Laptev Sea*, supplemented with the second abridged version and her autobiographical writings concerning her second banishment, trial, resistance to the KGB and work as a doctor.

Even under the conditions of constant persecution by Soviet authorities, Grinkevičiūtė devoted her life to give testimony of the tragedy of the Lithuanian nation, which is qualified as genocide.^[8] The Soviet regime had never recog-

5 First published posthumously (1987) in the magazine of the Lithuanian Writers' Union *Metai* (*The Years*) in 1996 (No.10–12 and in 1997 No. 1) and in 1997, as a separate book *Lietuviai prie Laptevų jūros* (*Lithuanians by the Laptev Sea*).

6 An abbreviated version of Grinkevičiūtė's chronicle about the deportations of 1941 was first published in Russian, in the dissident press magazine *Память*, No. 2 in 1979 under the title "Литовские ссылки в Якутии". The author managed to send this publication to famous Soviet human rights activist and academic Andrei Sakharov (Андрей Дмитриевич Сахаров) and his wife Jelena Bonner; the excerpts from it were broadcasted by the radio station *Голос свободы* (*Voice of Freedom*) and translated into French and English in the 1980s. In 1981, the English translation of this version was published in USA in a book *Lietuviai Sibire* (= *Lithuanians in Siberia*, 1981). In the territory of the Soviet Union, the memoirs first appeared in the Russian language in the magazine of the Soviet Lithuanian Writers' Union *Вильнюс* (1990, No. 3).

7 In Lithuanian the fragments appeared in the official monthly magazine of the Soviet Lithuanian Writers' Union *Pergalė* (1988, No. 8); soon they were shared with the Russian readers in the corresponding issue of the Soviet Lithuanian Writers' Union magazine *Литва литературная* (1988, Nr. 10).

8 Vytautas Landsbergis, the first head of the Lithuanian state after the restoration of its independence, the member of the International Advisory Council of the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation and member of the European Parliament, states that: "It was only in 1998 that the Seimas adopted a resolution, statement and law, which set forth a legal description of

nised the fact and the scope of the atrocities committed, so such witnessing by Grinkevičiūtė was very dangerous. The theme of exile in the soviet Lithuanian literature was forbidden and strictly censored. Writers bearing the stigma of deported or imprisoned persons were intimidated, marginalised, it was prohibited even to mention the fates of their associates or relatives in their works. The only way to penetrate the official literary discourse with the exile theme was by the use of elaborated Aesopian language,^[9] elliptical techniques of reticence in prose and poetry, parables and allegories in drama, and widespread historical allusions. The direct witnessing of this cruel post-war period in the Soviet literature was impossible, and the situation slightly changed only in the later period of the Soviet governance.^[10] This explains the notion of Grinkevičiūtės testimony, which finally broke the concealment of the nation's sociocultural trauma and strategy of coercive amnesia imposed by the occupational authorities.

2. WITNESSING VOICE

Grinkevičiūtė was that witnessing voice of the national trauma discourse. The problematics of exile, confinement in prisons and labour camps was totally neglected and suppressed in the cultural memory of the Soviet society for almost 50 years. Such memory displacement is characteristic of events that cause a post-traumatic stress disorder: inherent latency of the event “paradoxically explains the peculiar, temporal structure, the belatedness of historical experience” (Caruth, 1995: 8). Grinkevičiūtė herself overcame this period of latency in quite a short term. She wrote a manuscript in Lithuanian whenever she was able to, while taking care of her dying mother.

deportations carried out by the Soviets. The law presently states that a massive deportation of the occupied country's population to the occupying country's territory carried out by the occupant counts as the most atrocious war crime. However, the letter of law fails to convey the victims' sufferings due to these crimes. [...] The Nazis used to shoot their victims and, for purposes of massive extermination, devised the system of gas chambers [...] The methods of massive annihilation of population employed by the USSR were slavery and driving people to exhaustion; cold and starvation “chambers” were used amidst the vast areas of concentration camps and destinations of deportation.” (Landsbergis, 2008: 9).

9 The effect of the Aesopian language as a mechanism of interaction with the community's memory is essentially related to the actualization of the political experience under the conditions of political censorship. In the soviet society, the Aesopian language was considered to be one of the fundamental methods of the “silent resistance”.

10 The novel *Žuvis nepažįsta savo vaikų* by Juozas Požėra (Požėra, 1985) was the first in the post-war Lithuanian literature to picture a Lithuanian family in Siberian exile, without making any reference to deportations. “Psalmės” written by poet Antanas Miškinis in the Mordovian camps, 1949–53, was first published in his book *Sulaužyti kryžiai* of 1989 (Miškinis, 1989).

The upcoming loss was a huge impulse that released her depressing memories of deportation.^[11] However, the period of latency lasted much longer for the greater part of society. There were several reasons. First, the official literary field cultivated a total amnesiac strategy. Therefore, the witnessing literature could be distributed only illegally: like the deportees themselves, their testimonies caused fear as they denounced the regime; their truth and existence were inconvenient, causing threat not only to those who resolved to witness, but even to those with whom they shared their experiences. It took at least four decades for this experience to go beyond the private sphere and become a part of the public discourse. Secondly, deportees for the rest of their lives remained “Absolutely Others”: while living in exile they were called “strangers”, “invaders”, even “fascists”. In the official Soviet rhetoric, they were branded “enemies of the people”. After coming back to their homeland, former exiles felt strangers here too, and, according to their own words, suffered the second exile, because they were not able to find a place to live, and, therefore, they failed to get an official registration and thus to get a job, and vice versa. They had no chances to regain their social status, and it was difficult for them to reintegrate into society. Those who managed to return to Lithuania after Stalin’s death, found their former property expropriated. They were met with hostility not only by local authorities, but also by distrustful citizens, who behaved disobligingly with the returned expatriates deprived of their rights and further marginalised by the government. Even the families of exiles tried to protect their children against any witnesses of deportations, so that being less conscious and careful they could avoid negative outcomes. Public demand for commemoration arose at the dawn of restoration of the Lithuanian independence, when possibilities occurred to incorporate this repressed part of the nation’s memory into the disrupted historical discourse, which was impossible during the period of occupation.

The primary goal of Grinkevičiūtė’s documentary prose was not a literary one, but rather that of a clear testimony. The author’s evident nonconformist posture could be seen in the first handwritten version, as well as in the second variant meant for a wider Russian or even foreign audience: the text was created not only as a documentary testimony of her experience, but also as an unambiguous accusation. Both Grinkevičiūtė’s texts, written in 1950 and 1976, were a challenge to the official discourse: they were honest, militant, had a direct addressee and addresser (speaking on

11 According to Marianne Hirsh, the trope of maternal abandonment is typical to Holocaust memories in the relative field of Holocaust survivors’ memoirs (Hirsh, 2008:108).

behalf of all casualties), contained no intentional gaps or amnesiac omissions. Her texts were exemplary political writings, too, fragments of the documented collective memory. It is impossible to treat the author's position as ambivalent or to identify the author with the narrating liminal subject. Marginalised as a person, she managed to avoid the irreversible liminal change of her identity and was not talking in a subaltern's voice. According to French folklorist and ethnographer Arnold van Gennep and his structural division of liminality (van Gennep, 1960: 21), in her "non-sentimental journey", Grinkevičiūtė experienced preliminary phase (the deportation, displacement, which lasted for 15 years), but in the liminal phase, even having no clear defined role in the community and society, she avoided substantial change of her identity.

It is the stability of identity and inherent ethical problematics that enables us to rediscover the figure of Grinkevičiūtė as a replica of Sophocles' Antigone. Like Antigone, Grinkevičiūtė obeyed the unwritten law to testify, made an ethical decision that trapped her in the unsafe liminal biopolitical space between two deaths: those she had witnessed and her own social death caused by the testifying. Antigone is absolutely identifying herself with the (subconscious) demand of the Other; she experiences traumatic encounter with the radical otherness, for which she as a subject is completely responsible. Philosopher Žukauskaitė, who considers this problem in Slavoj Žižek, Judith Butler and Giorgio Agamben's terms, states that "Antigone chooses a position that is unacceptable, is not represented by Oedipal norm in sanctioned universe; thus, she is a living dead" (Žukauskaitė, 2004: 126). The death drive analysed by Jacques Lacan in his interpretation of Antigone's story is also characteristic to other texts written by deportees and prisoners, who have experienced internal or external expulsion from society in one or another way (Bernotienė, 2011). Grinkevičiūtė condemns herself to a victim status, but her sacrifice has neither symbolic, nor sacral value in the governmental power system. According to Agamben, the life of the expatriate is *zoē*, not *bios*¹², so the tactics of expulsion, not of inclusion is applied. In exile and even after coming back, Grinkevičiūtė remained the Other,

12 In his study *Homo sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, Giorgio Agamben (Agamben, 1998) describes a person's political existence by distinguishing the concepts *zoē* and *bios*. Agamben's *bare life* notion, which is important to us, is based on the pair of the foregoing concepts borrowed by him from the Ancient Greek philosophers (Aristotle) and Michel Foucault to define the social aspects of a person's life. According to them, *zoē* refers to a simple, bare fact of life common for all living creatures, and *bios* specifies a way or form of life specific to a group or individual. *Bios* signifies such a way of living, which turns us into social and ethical creatures (cf. Žukauskaitė, 2004:18).

socially alien, and did not experience reincorporation in the postliminal phase: she remained structurally “invisible”, bearing the mark of otherness for the rest of her life.

3. ETHNOGRAPHIC MATERIAL FOR THE PRICE OF GENETIC DECLINE

We can recall how passionately and ironically soviet dissident Josif Brodsky argued that exile should not be turned into “ethnographic material”^[13] giving an additional value to the author’s autobiography and bibliography. This unexpected surplus of exotic “ethnographic material” and “geographical experience” makes Grinkevičiūtė’s person and her witnessing special. Regarding the geographical factor, which was determined by the biopolitics of the regime and its regulation of social reproduction,^[14] the existence of exiles can be straightforwardly discussed in terms of moral geography.^[15] “The system of labour camps [...] enabled a man to live for years in the conditions of decay and loss of self-respect” (Mattucci, 2015: 40). Moreover, the exile, which at different periods in history caused at least one “genetic decline” (Brodsky, 1995: 59) and threw culture back into the space where its capacity and human power to withstand degradation were tested, can be seen as the battle between good and evil bearing the features of the meta-physical drama.

The real geographical distance was a strong nostalgia-stimulating factor. Archetypal Ulises’ return to his homeland is more typical for the deportees’ narratives than the wandering of Aeneas. Deportees were affected more by an aspiration to recover the lost space of their homeland, rather than the past time. Therefore in this respect (for example, comparing deportees to exiles, refugees and migrants), the nostalgia factor should be valued

13 Joseph Brodsky: “Apart from anything else, it [the exile] now constitutes ethnographic material” (Brodsky, 1995: 28).

14 “In Soviet labour camps, mass death constituted the result of natural consumption to dispose of congestion and overcrowding and was watched with indifference” (Mattucci, 2015: 42).

15 Places of deportation, as well as “the names of the largest camps administered by the GULAG, such as Solovki, the White Sea Canal, Vorkuta, Kolyma or Vaygach, remain unknown to most people, unable to evoke some physical and really existing place and activate a memory. This indicates how these deadly and liberticidal places continue to remain peripheral not only geographically, but also in the 20th century’s catalogue of sites devoted to dehumanization.” (Mattucci, 2015: 40).

positively as a restorative nostalgia that restores lost values,^[16] rather than the reflective nostalgia resisting to the flow of time (cf. Boym, 2001: 43).

It is important that seeking to overcome the historical and cultural isolation Grinkevičiūtė addressed her testimony not only to her fellow nationals, but also the oppressor's culture.^[17] The author of this article would like to dispute the popular claim of postcolonial studies that Grinkevičiūtė's writing manner is mimicry and imitating of the discourse of power. Imitation and mimicry for deportees was not textual, but rather real-life practice. So Avižienytė's statement that memoirs of Grinkevičiūtė "mimic Socialist realist plot" (which is untrue) "and the official Soviet discourse of propaganda" (Avižienytė, 2006: 187) is an insufficient marker: the same code of discourse and same rhetorical devices are only the partial criteria of textual mimicry. This text-centred argument cannot be applied to Grinkevičiūtė's testimony on the whole, for it can also be seen as a piece of palimpsestic writing (analysing what attributes of the pre-Soviet rhetoric it features), an act of appropriation of the discourse of power (just like in Antigone's case), the outcome of the battle in the discourse field and the manifestation of equal rights.

Political Character of Rejection

Further post-Soviet reception of Grinkevičiūtė in Lithuania revealed another antithesis, that of exile and inner emigration. This antithesis was typical in Lithuanian society, when sufferings of deportees were equalled to quite complicated choices between conformity, collaboration and open resistance on the part of the Lithuanian population who lived in Soviet Lithuania for all their lives. Former deportees did not encounter such dilemma: the majority of those returned from the exile captured the clear and unchanged vision of Lithuanian independence as if it had been trapped in the inclusion of an immobile time. This vision was not so clear to those

16 At the climax of the liberating movement that ended with the re-establishment of Lithuanian state independence, the essential ethical values, as well as Lithuanian culture and identity on the whole were seen and defined as lost and then regained, according to the trope (or in the light) of deportation. According to famous literary critic Viktorija Daujotytė, "Together with people, many words which would be dear to Lithuanians were deported: God, God's Mother, Homeland Lithuania, Cross, Crucifix, Prayer, Easter, Christmas, Holy Hymns were deported" (Daujotytė, 1989: 180).

17 The only collection of deportees' memories in the Russian language was published in Yakutia, the territory of the Russian Federation, in 1995: Литовцы у Ледовитого океана, Якутск: Национальное книжное издательство "Бичик", 1995 (192 pp.).

who stayed in Lithuania and missed the opportunity to defend it in real life. Those “guilty without guilt” (quite common definition of former deportees) caused real remorse to a part of those who chose the survival strategy: these two social groups followed the essentially different value systems, and were not equally resistant to the historical deformations caused by the communist indoctrination. It was typical that deportees of 1940–1941, and further waves of deportations, were first of all treated by the country-aggressor as persons resisting the loss of their country’s statehood. They were actually dangerous for the regime, and not just for being the owners of expropriated farms.

For some time, the tactics of amnesia practiced by authorities in respect of deportees’ memoirs guaranteed the political stability of the regime. In the late soviet period, society was mature enough to accept public testimonies, which in times of restoration of Lithuanian statehood became a significant society-consolidating factor.

Strategies of Amnesia

But how was the returning memory met? As the Soviet society was literature-centred, the printed word had great power and truth was automatically ascribed to a published text. Grinkevičiūtė’s texts circulated abroad in the form of samizdat, manuscripts and books and were known only to a small group of the Lithuanian population. Thus it had no significant influence on the society at large in Soviet Lithuania. It was impossible for them to break through and get into the normal cultural circulation, because of the dominance of the Russian cultural and political power, centred in Moscow, which regulated any changes in the field of Lithuanian literature and culture. The testimony by Grinkevičiūtė, as well as other texts by Soviet dissidents (Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Varlam Shalamov, Joseph Brodsky), caused a threat to the machine of totalitarian regime and propaganda, for the purposes of which the official literature was used.

Grinkevičiūtė was introduced to the official literary field by Justinas Marcinkevičius, the influential and popular poet, who belonged to the elite of Soviet writers, upon his personal responsibility. Nevertheless, Marcinkevičius’ role in publicising this factography of exile was quite ambiguous: after taking the manuscript from Grinkevičiūtė, he made copies and gave the original back to her. Before her death, Grinkevičiūtė entrusted the manuscript to writer Kazys Saja, who had courage to disseminate it in unofficial copies. Born in the family of poor farmers, Marcinkevičius was a moral authority

in the Lithuanian society of the time; he was considered a mouthpiece for expressing the nation's concerns and had gained favour in the governmental circles, which he did by totally ignoring the issue of political occupation and sovietisation of Lithuania in his writings. The contraposition between Grinkevičiūtė and Marcinkevičius as representatives of the higher and lower social layers in the pre-Soviet Lithuania is very important and gives prominence to one's personal relationship with the idea of statehood. Moreover, it makes relevant "the deep divide in Soviet Lithuanian society between the few, who suffered direct repression, and the many, who in one way or another accommodated themselves to the Soviet rule" (Davoliūtė, 2012: 121).

For several decades already, the contemporary Lithuanian literature studies, especially their branch of socio-criticism, have been researching the distrustfulness and inner contradiction of Lithuanian society. Distrustfulness has been inherited from the Soviet and, particularly, the Stalinist period, and still is present in the field of modern literature and culture. It is known that writers showed discontent about exile memories, testimonies of post-war fights as being able to distract the readers' attention from "real" literature. It was characteristic of the elderly writers who declared their "tiredness" of deportees belonged to the former elite of Soviet literature. The younger generation writers had their background in the lower layers of the Soviet society, so did not practice any resistance to the regime in their private lives. A biography marked with the stigma of deportation was "ghettoized" by the literary community, who did not easily acknowledge its value. A literature of "deportation" was usually criticised as a form of writing that sought to draw attention to itself through the promotion of extra-literary factors (as in the abovementioned case of Brodsky ironizing about the growth of ethnographic experiences). But, according to the cultural historian and semiotician Yuri Lotman, such distinction of a person with "biography" marks his significance in the cultural episteme (Лотман, 1992).

Commemoration of Exile in Postmemory Fiction Writing

Works on the theme of deportation created by the postmemory generation of writers appeared in Lithuanian literature in three different periods. In Soviet times, the effective Soviet censorship determined the postponed publication of the poem *Raliavimai*^[18] written by Vytautas P. Bložė (created in 1974, published in 1981), and influenced the selection of its literary

18 The title word of the poem – *Raliavimai* (warbles) – is a genre of Lithuanian folk songs.

style. Born in 1930, Bložė was the son of a pharmacist exiled to Siberia because of the healing provided to partisans. His poem was inspired by the author's continuous self-perception as "a stranger among his own people". His poem textualised the displaced person's failure to integrate society, which was revealed by employing negative modern poetics and combining it with the transformation logic and reality/irreality effects characteristic of fairy tales. In the poem, Bložė merges a central motif of a landless shepherd with the etiological tale, Prometheus, Cain and Abel myths, reconceptualization of the Masses and procession rituals, children's horror stories and post-war history, and creates a chain of the subject's changing identities (displaced, abandoned, other, brutal shepherd, wicked robber, living dead). The mixed order that can be perceived as the political arch metaphor of this poem determines the multi-directional flow of time (the states of death and dream, as well as the return to the past and future interchange) and complicated uncertainty of self-perception (victim and/or revenger).

Soon after the regained independence, in 1990, the son of a deportee, well-known artist and poet Leonardas Gutauskas (born in 1938) made his debut as an outstanding prose writer with the autobiographical, three-part novel *Vilko dantų karoliai* (*A Wolf Teeth Necklace*) (Gutauskas, 1990, 1994, 1997) that focused on the themes of the national memory, becoming an artist and self-realisation. The necklace metaphor as inherited collection of memories in the novel substantiates its compositional principle: to record all the signals sent by the returning memory. The necklace, the actual gift of the father, who came back from Siberia, in the text has the meaning of hurting, as well as protecting memory, an amulet and a loop. While writing this novel, which aspires to the condition of epic narrative, the author followed an essential rule to rely on the flashes (signals) of memory,^[19] trusting their dictates and thus resist not only the external, but also the internal censorship of the text. His other work in which Gutauskas focussed on the deportation theme, were the poem dedicated to Dalia Grinkevičiūtė (Gutauskas, 2004) and the novel *Sapnų teologija*

19 It is important to state that recurring flashes of memory is another typical element of the storytelling and witnessing both of the Holocaust and of the deportations. Eva Hoffman describes the flashes of imagery as what has been passed down to her: "Rather, I took in that first information as a sort of fairy tale deriving not so much from another world as from the centre of the cosmos: an enigmatic but real fairy tale... The memories—not memories but emanations—of wartime experiences kept erupting in flashes of imagery; in abrupt but broken refrains." (Hoffman, 2004: 6). Hirsch states that "[t]hese 'not memories' communicated in 'flashes of imagery' and 'broken refrains,' transmitted through 'the language of the body,' are precisely the stuff of postmemory". (Hirsch, 2008: 109).

(*Theology of Dreams*) (Gutauskas, 2006). In them, the theme of deportation functions as an extended meta-commentary on the cultural memory. The poem related directly to Grinkevičiūtė's fate and the novel is based on a fairy tale narrative, partially using the plot of Grinkevičiūtė's fate, intertextually and intratextually connected. The most universal and culturally charged aspect that appears both in the poem and in the novel is the recurring court situation (an allusion to the Last Judgement), which refers to the moral and axiological issues of justice discussed on the symbolic level, as an archetypal fairy tale and a fantasy.

Besides the oral stories told by other Laptev Sea exiles, Grinkevičiūtė's testimony was also used by Rūta Šepetys, an American Lithuanian from a family of refugees, in her novel of popular historical fiction about deportation, *Between Shades of Grey* (Šepetys, 2011). The book was oriented more towards younger readers, published in the USA and later translated into Lithuanian. On the whole, the novel was translated into 27 foreign languages, listed as *the New York Times* bestseller, and in Lithuania it was republished 4 times with 15,000 copies in total. Presented in a more sentimental way than Grinkevičiūtė's testimony, this fictional story of Lithuanian deportees entered the international field of popular culture: a team of Lithuanian and *Hollywood* filmmakers made a movie based on this novel.

4. LIEUX DE MÉMOIRE

So far, the reminiscences of the deportations have failed to get any attention on the cultural and political field of the aggressor-state. Translations of Grinkevičiūtė and other deportees' prose works into the Russian language were published only by the peripheral Yakut Publishing House. The editors of one of the most influential literary magazines in Russia, *Иностранная литература* [Foreign Literature], devoted the entire third issue of 2015 to Lithuania, but did not take courage to publish Grinkevičiūtė's memoirs even 25 years after the occupation. In 2005, Russia did not give permission to build a monument in honour of Lithuanian and Lithuanian Jew deportees, who suffered and died in the years 1942–1956, in Yakutsk, the capital of Yakutia, which was created by the Brotherhood of the Laptev Sea Deportees. The monument was erected in the centre of Vilnius in 2006.

The commemoration policy of the regime victims is a national concern in Lithuania. The Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania functions in Vilnius since 1992. It is engaged in researching the history of

exile, Soviet and Nazi occupation, holocaust, anti-Soviet resistance and KGB activity. This centre is the biggest working state research institution in the Baltic States. The centre has compiled an archive of documents, coordinates various researches and educational activities. In comparison, the Museum of the Occupation of Latvia 1940–1991, established in 1993 by the Latvian Americans, works on a voluntary basis; it manages only half of the archives (another part is in Moscow). The Museum of Occupations in Estonia was established in 2007, but only one section of the Institute of History performs this type of research. There are four similar museums in Ukraine, but only the Museum in Lvov is engaged in the research.

The Brotherhood of the Laptev Sea Deportees founded according to the territoriality principle in 1992 is one of the most active deportee communities in Lithuania. “Determined that the Soviet genocide must be disclosed and the brutality will never be repeated”, the Brotherhood of the Laptev Sea Deportees has a goal “to record the past in books, drawings, museum exhibits and videos, as long as the eyewitnesses to these events are alive” (Markauskas, 2008: 13). Working actively in the field of protection and fostering of historical memory, the Brotherhood organises historical conferences and publishes books. It has created a unique exile exposition in the Open Air Museum of Lithuania in Rumšiškės. Ensuring the real connections and intergenerational memory transfer, former deportees coordinate the exile commemoration and inheritance of Grinkevičiūtė.

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STORIES OF OBLIVION AND REMEMBRANCE.

TRANSCONTINENTAL MEMORY IN THE FICTION OF JONATHAN SAFRAN FOER

Fernanda Mota Alves

Everything is the way it is because everything was the way it was
(Foer, 2002: 145)

“Transcultural Amnesia” suggests an approach to cultural phenomena based on the insights and instruments provided by contemporary memory studies. In fact, this research field, which has become a central paradigm in Culture Studies, has now attained a new development stage. It had its beginnings in the first decades of the 20th century, with the contributions of Maurice Halbwachs, Aby Warburg and Walter Benjamin. After the rediscovery of these authors in the 70s (Assmann, 1999: 92-93) a second phase followed in the last decades of the century, starting with Pierre Nora’s *Lieux de Mémoire*; he inaugurated a period of intense research, in which the works of Jan and Aleida Assmann contributed decisively to the development of the field. The concept of cultural memory becomes then the basic research instrument for this area. However, the attachment of memory to a single cultural (national, ethnic) community which was implied in Nora’s work would soon be overcome by further theoretical approaches that stressed the dynamic nature of memory. In the words of Ann Rigney (2008), memory is like a swimmer – it “has to keep moving even just to stay afloat” (345). These reflections brought about the third phase of cultural memory studies, which abandoned the focus on the so-called “container-cultures” and started to focus on “transculturality”. According to Astrid Erll, transcultural memory studies are a field that takes on the transcultural developments of the disciplines involved in culture studies. She describes it in these words:

I would propose using “transcultural” as an umbrella term for what in other academic contexts might be described with concepts of the transnational, diasporic, hybrid, syncretistic, postcolonial, translocal, creolized, global or cosmopolitan. (Erll, 2014: 14)

Transcultural memory will be, then, “the incessant wandering of carriers, media, contents, forms and practices of memory, their continual “travels” and ongoing transformations through time and space, across social, linguistic and political borders.” (*Ibidem*) Transcultural memory studies adopts a certain “*research perspective*”, which works “across and beyond” traditional cultural (also territorial and social) borders. (*Ibidem*)

Transcultural memory studies must also take the hidden side of memory into consideration: remembrance is a selective process, which operates with specific content while necessarily ignoring others. Both in individuals and communities, forgetting may take many shapes, like circumstantial loss of information, but also censorship or repression (possibly caused by a traumatic experience).

Maurizio Ascari (2011) studies several transcultural narratives which show the effects of the contemporary process of globalization. He describes them as postmodern narratives and argues that postmodernism is chronologically circumscribed by two catastrophes that left their mark in the collective imagination: the Shoah (usually identified with Auschwitz) and the 9/11 attacks. The former is associated to the end of the foundational narratives of modernity and the latter represents the need to envisage the geographical proximity and the cultural distance of the Islamic East.

These are, of course, symbolic events that stand for longer processes of destabilization of Western culture and its opening to the broader context of globalization. But, in my opinion, they also present central topics of contemporary cultural memory and provide the historical framework, the theme and the orientation to many fictions of memory, and indeed, of transcultural memory, which deal with these events, in a direct or indirect manner, and according to specific points of view, depending on the geographic, social and cultural position of the author.

The Holocaust and 9/11 are precisely the central issues of the two novels published by the young Jewish-American author Jonathan Safran Foer in 2002 and 2005: *Everything is Illuminated* and *Extremely Loud and Incredibly Close*. Both of them, as we shall see, represent and problematize transcultural memory and oblivion.

Everything is Illuminated (2002), an autobiographic novel, has a complex narrative structure. It combines two narrative voices and three temporal levels:

Alexander Perchov, also called Alex, is a Ukrainian student who narrates the journey he has made with his grandfather and his dog, called Sammy Davis Jr, Jr; they were hired to accompany Jonathan Safran Foer,

an American Jew who has the author's name, in his journey in search of the shtetl Trachimbrod. He is the second narrator, who tells the story of this village from the end of the 18th century to the time of World War II, when it was bombed and destroyed. Beside the story times associated to the past of the shtetl and to the journey (which took place in the Summer of 1997), there is still another temporal level: in the autumn following that journey, Alex writes to Jonathan, who had in the meantime returned to the US, sending him his narrative.

Foer is the grandson of Safran, a Jew from Trachimbrod, who survived the destruction of the shtetl and escaped to the USA with the help of a girl called Augustine, who thus saved his life. In this journey Foer tries to find her, although he has nothing but a photograph of her and his grandfather as young people. But in fact, this journey means the return to his origins, and the attempt to face the trauma that he inherited from his late grandfather Safran. Everything he writes later about the life of the shtetl is an imaginative recreation of a reality he had not experienced and has the traits of a foundational myth.

The shtetl Trachimbrod seems to have vanished and the locals are not willing to give any information about it. Only an old woman sitting in front of her decaying house confesses that she *is* the shtetl (Foer, 2002: 118) – since, as we learn later, she survived the bombing and kept with her many objects left by the people who used to live there, which she collected before the Ukrainians came and pillaged what was left. Among these objects was a photo of a couple with a child and another man. Alex's grandfather is identified as the married man in the picture and he confesses he identified his friend Herschel, the other man in the picture, as a Jew, and is therefore responsible for his death.

This brief account of the central elements of this story allow us already to understand how it is based on silence and oblivion and on the efforts to finally face the past. In fact, Jonathan and Alex are symmetrical figures, both of them belonging to the third generation after World War II. In spite of their nationalities, they are the heirs of opposite social communities in the Ukraine, the Jews and the gentiles.

Jonathan, the grandson of the surviving Jew Safran from Trachimbrod, came to the Ukraine to build his identity on the ruins of his family's past. He never found Augustine. Instead, he met her cousin Lista, the old woman who gave him access to some information of the past, both of his grandfather and of Trachimbrod. He narrates the story of the shtetl, starting with the myth that gave it its name but also tells the origin and life of his remote

grandmother Brod – a baby floating in the water, surrounded by objects of all kinds after the accident that killed her family in the river. Jonathan thus presents an allegory of his own memory work, which consists of assembling fragments from the obscure realm of the repressed past to construct the image he needs to live with in the present.

Alex in turn is the older son of a dysfunctional Ukrainian family. His father is a violent man who mistreats his wife and sons; his grandfather, who is disturbed by the death of his wife, says he is blind and still continues to drive. At the beginning of the novel, Alex dreams of going to the US and imagines a lifestyle made up of American stereotypes. He also presents himself as he would like to be: a successful young male who is adored by the girls and spends much money in trendy night clubs – in fact these are fictions he tells his younger brother and Jonathan in order to make himself seem a worthier or more interesting person. In his account of the journey with Jonathan and in his letters he uses English vocabulary in a completely inadequate way, which contributes to a comic effect that is paralleled by his humoristic attitude. At some point he says humour is the best way to cope with the negative aspects of human experience. In fact, he will narrate the tragedy that lies in the past of his family. According to historic accounts, the Ukrainians supported actively the Nazis in the elimination of the Jews, and they seem to have silenced this fact until the present. In fact, when Alex asks the peasants about Trachimbrod, they refuse to acknowledge that the *shtetl* ever existed. So, in some way, Alex must have the notion that he was on the side of the survivors who witnessed the massacre of the Jews. But as the story evolves, he narrates a still crueller story, which concerns him on a personal, indeed biological level. After being recognized in the photo with his wife and Herschel, the Grandfather confesses that to save his own family he had to identify his friend as a Jew to the Nazis, thereby condemning him to death. This story becomes even more complex; comparing this confession with a comment made by Lista/Augustine saying Eli killed Herschel, one must necessarily conclude that the Grandfather is not a Ukrainian but a Jew in self-denial, something Jonathan prefers not to acknowledge, for the sake of a clear distinction between victims and perpetrators.

The plot of this novel thus tends to uncover hidden facts and bring them to consciousness – the destiny of Jonathan's grandfather Safran, the guilt of Alex's Grandfather, and even the emotional development of Alex, who in the end was able to face his identity and his truth. This is the "illumination" the book refers to. On the other hand, the lack of information led to imaginative reconstruction – in this sense, Jonathan's story can be seen

as an example of postmemorial imagination (using the concept proposed by Marianne Hirsch, 1997). There are, however, elements of this story that remain in silence. The shtetl Trachimbord disappeared totally, leaving in its place the dark spectre of its absence; even the narration of its bombing remains indirect: instead of verbal expression (*i.e.*, a narrative sequence), the reader finds dotted lines that allude to the unspeakable. The Ukrainians of the neighbourhood deliberately forget that place and refuse to remember where it used to be located. Trauma and guilt contribute to selective amnesia.

Jonathan, the American Jew, and Alex, the Ukrainian heir of the curse of a Jew who was forced into the condition that Primo Levi called the grey zone, produce together a book. This is the wish formulated by Alex when he asks: "With our writing, we are reminding each other of things. We are making one story, yes?" (Foer, 2002: 144). Alex would like this book to be a token of reconciliation and forgiveness, which would eliminate his grandfather's guilt in the realm of fiction. In his words, "with writing we have second chances" (*ibidem*). In fact, Jonathan does not seem to react to this proposal, which means that he suspends the implicit offer of forgiveness and reconciliation. But the sheer existence of this book means that this transcontinental encounter, which had depended on the contribution of Alex as a guide and translator, resulted in a partial remembrance that made it possible to finally mourn.

Foer's second novel is mainly narrated by a nine-year-old boy, Oscar Schell, whose father died in the 9/11 attacks. He was not able to answer the phone when his father called several times shortly before the towers collapsed and both his father's death and this episode, which he keeps secret, are at the core of a trauma that disturbs him during the next two years. He finds a key in his father's closet with a label saying Black and he starts a search in New York for the person related to that name. He has then the opportunity of knowing many individual stories, which offer the reader personal perspectives of urban life and ways of coping with the recent catastrophe.

The novel has a second narrative strand: Oscar's grandparents are Germans who sought refuge in the US after World War II. The bombing of Dresden killed Anna, Thomas' bride, who had just told him she was pregnant. He eventually married Anna's sister, who was equally disturbed by the loss she had suffered. Thomas Schell lost his ability to speak and communicated with a set of words he had written in a notebook, while he had the words *yes* and *no* written on his palms.

The novel establishes a connection between the recent events and the atrocities committed during World War II; but here the reader's attention is clearly drawn towards the suffering of German people. This unsettles the stereotypes created by the most current versions of cultural memory, which present the Germans only as perpetrators: Thomas Schell's account of the chaos and despair that followed the bombing is intensely emotional and oriented towards an empathic reading. On the other hand, the shadow of the Holocaust is also present in the figure of a man called Simon Goldberg, a Jewish friend who Anna's father was hiding from the Nazis. Later he wrote Thomas a letter from the transit-camp Westerbork and the informed reader will assume that he must have been sent to be killed in Auschwitz. However, Thomas thinks he may have seen him in a bookshop in Manhattan. At the same time, the reference to the bombings of Dresden and also Hiroshima offers a more problematic view of the Americans, who have also been responsible for destructive acts against innocent populations and are now the victims of analogous actions (Codde, 2011: 682). It is Goldberg's remark on the war that summarizes this confrontation of different positions of perpetrators and victims and, indeed, their interchangeability, asserting the senselessness of violence: "We go on killing each other to no purpose! It is war waged by humanity against humanity, and it will only end when there's no one left to fight!" (Foer, 2005: 128). This novel enacts a transcultural memory that has at its core the compassion for all human (and also animal) suffering.

The practical and emotional need to communicate is a central element in both novels. In *Everything is Illuminated* language is central to the extent that Jonathan needs a translator to accompany him in his search; but the narrated stories, for the fact that they are the verbal expression of repressed or inexistent memories (that had been the object of what one could call transcultural amnesia), are as close as the book can come to mutual understanding and acceptance among the main characters and what these represent.

In *Extremely Loud and Incredibly Close* (2005) verbal language does not seem to be a reliable or at least a sufficient instrument of communication. The fiction includes a scrapbook composed by Oscar ("Stuff that happened to me"), uses photos and images and even a flipbook that performs an inversion of time intended to undo Oscar's terrible loss. It also depicts Thomas Schell's intensively communicative efforts that result in pages totally covered by a text which is so dense that it became illegible; conversely, it shows how Oscar's grandmother writes the story of her life for

him and only produces blank pages, which is her response to her trauma.^[1] In the hands of Thomas Schell language objectifies itself to the extent of becoming a body.

It is significant that Oscar and his grandfather go together to the cemetery in the night to open the empty coffin that had been symbolically buried in honour of Oscar's father (Thomas' son). They leave inside the coffin all the unsent letters that Thomas had written to his son, and this is the beginning of Oscar's healing process. Thomas, in turn, will never recover from his trauma.

The role of language and textuality in this novel extends to the meaning of literary fiction itself: In a letter sent by Stephen Hawking to Oscar, he confesses that he would prefer to have become a poet than a scientist because inventiveness is closer to real life.

Literary imagination is presented in these texts as the medium to remember repressed memories, speak the unspeakable and reveal the universality of human frailty, working both as a process and a topic. Fictionality thus supports the reconstruction of a memory that was lost in transcultural situations, as a result of the political and social vicissitudes of the 20th century.

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"WHEN WE LEAVE, IT'S IMPORTANT TO LEAVE SOMETHING BEHIND US".

CONSTRUCTING TRANSCULTURAL MEMORIES IN GERMAN FILM

Luísa Afonso Soares

The migrant, all migrants (even in the least educated sectors), is always a translator, someone who constantly lives between his place of origin and his adoptive culture, the experience of what can or cannot be said in another language.
(Garcia Canclini, 2011: 33)

Not rarely, cinema is the site of performance of the translation work that the emigrant is compelled to do when faced with other knowledge, histories, habits and cultural practices and when forced to come to terms with the past. An aesthetic achievement, usually in a tragic, melodramatic or even comical discourse, structure emotions and feelings, as well as ways of seeing and thinking which are initially distinct from those of the host culture. Filmic narratives are also a means of organizing the place one currently belongs to and the place one has left behind, i.e. what is one's own and what is foreign. Simultaneously, these narratives are also a means of setting off mechanisms of inclusion or exclusion. Memories and their negotiation, revision or contestation are an integral part of that translation process, as well as their reverse, that is, forgetfulness, as Astrid Erll (2011: 14) rightly emphasized: "In the transcultural travels of memory, elements may get lost, become repressed, silenced, and censored, and remain unfulfilled."

Regardless of the acts of xenophobic or racist violence during the nineties, which coincided with the Post-unification period, Turkish-German cinema reached at the turn of the new millennium an enthusiastic reception among the public and scholars.^[1] As Daniela Berghahn (2010: 239) puts it, it would have required some farsightedness to predict that the revival of German cinema would be in no small measure due to Turkish-German filmmakers, above all, star director Fatih Akin. Yet, despite this gradual

1 See 'Is the Boat full? Xenophobia, Racism, and Violence' in Göktürk, Gramling, Kaes (eds.). 2007 (pp. 105-148).

recognition, one must concede that the classification as “Turkish-German cinema” or “migrant cinema” is itself a hierarchizing category, since it can imply judgments of aesthetic value. The aesthetics of cultural hybridization is usually synonymous with artistic immaturity and periphery. Surely for this reason the second and third generation filmmakers are attempting to shift their films out of this ethnic niche into mainstream cinema (*idem*, 241). My reflection in this paper seeks to justify the gradual transculturality inherent to the so-called Turkish-German cinema, for it seems to be less hierarchizing and epistemologically more accurate. To structure this point of view I follow the concept of Transculturality as formulated by Wolfgang Welsch (1999), Astrid Erll’s concept of transcultural memory and lastly David MacDougall’s concept of transcultural cinema, which is based on the idea that “a transcultural perspective accommodates cultural shift, movement, and interchange, which more adequately fits the experience of many westerns as well as populations often identified as indigenous, migrant, or diasporic” (Macdougall, 1999: 261). This point of view will be upheld throughout this paper.

The first decade of Turkish-German cinema, mainly of German authorship, is still marked by the immediate experience of emigration and by cultural, intracultural and inter-ethnic conflicts.

The terms “cinema of duty”, “cinema of the affected”, “accented cinema” or “cinema of the Strangeness” (*Kino der Fremde*) give voice to the discourse of victimization, of stereotypy, of ethnic and gender subalternity.^[2] The confrontation of mind-sets emerges here as inevitable in view of the existing cultural, ethnic and religious differences, and it seems to weaken any attempt of coexistence beyond conflict and tension. Only at the end of the eighties, beginning of the nineties of the 20th century does the cinema of duty see its passiveness and silence overcome by the voice of the second generation of “Gastarbeiter” (“guest workers”). It gives place to a more self-confident ethnic minority discourse which seeks, as any other artist with migrant background, “to move to a type of ‘post-migration’ work, to personal expressions that were less about portraying identity as restricted or reduced to immigrant background, and more about creating cultural expressions shaped by individual experience” (Böttcher, 2008). Indeed, second and third-generation cinema is able to show open forms of coexistence in a hybrid and urban society (See Hake/Mennel, 2012: 4-8). Those forms overcome the label of “Migrant Cinema” and may be or want to be part of

2 “Thus, stereotypification works as a domestication of alterity and of the subordinate” (J. Barriendos Rodríguez, 2011: 325).

a greater Urban Fiction or Road-movie tradition. Contrary to the claustrophobia or even ghettoization conveyed by the cinematographic language in the first years, the second generation strategically opts for "transcultural and transgenerational settings" and elaborates what in cinema can be termed as "cosmopolite fictions" (Cheesman, 2009). Wandering is not a stigma but a way of enjoying and adapting to the world which is often experienced with irony and humour. According to Deniz Göktürk (1999: 7), a shift has been taking place from the cinema of duty of the silent "Gastarbeiter" towards a cinema portraying the "pleasures of hybridity".

It is also in the nineties that women put themselves behind the camera, thus slowly overcoming the role of victim assigned to them by patriarchy and the hegemonic culture, where women were doubly the other. Simultaneously, female directors, not necessarily of Turkish origin, seek a more universal approach to the migrant experience, which is no longer necessarily the dramatic core of the filmic narrative. The films I will focus on reveal in one way or the other this need of going beyond the recurring topics of artistic expression of the first generation of emigrants or of those who set the goal of depicting that experience, as is the case of Rainer Werner Fassbinder or Helma Sanders-Brahms.

My paper explores two films that in different ways delve into cultural intermixing and negotiation of memories and allow therefore a focus on transcultural subjectivities. Both films stage processes of female self-determination as well as the emotional or physical violence behind those processes. Both films address transcultural conflicts, thus falling into the vast area of "human experience", emotions and affects, intra-ethnic, inter-generational and eventually inter-gender tensions. The capacity to remember or to forget, the capacity or decision to trigger mechanisms of resistance, even through silence, or the capacity to negotiate memories, values and beliefs in the new cultural setting are the leitmotifs in the filmic narratives. The first film to be analysed is *Anam. My Mother* (2001) by Buket Alakus and the second one is *As we leave/Die Fremde* (2010) by Feo Aladag.^[3]

Anam. My Mother stages the destiny of a Turkish born woman named Anam, who works as a cleaning lady in Hamburg. She is married to an unfaithful man, who she breaks up with and then raises their two children alone. The headscarf she uses every day is, on the one hand, the cultural materialization of the difference she embodies and, on the other hand, a

3 Buket Alakus was born in Istanbul in 1972, grew up in Hamburg and studied in Berlin. Feo Aladag was born in Vienna in 1972, studied in Vienna and London and was married to a Turkish-German man.

mnemonic artefact: it materializes the presence of the past in the present and the impossible obliteration of home memories and the values attached to them. Nevertheless, a different social and emotional framework, and especially Anam's new self-perception, makes the survival of those memories impossible. One day Anam dismisses her unfaithful husband and lets the wind blow her headscarf away.

The film "*Die Fremde/The Strange* (2010) (*When we leave* in English translation) by Feo Aladag is about a young Turkish woman named Umay, who grew up in Germany but is living in Istanbul. She wants to live a life of her own. She runs away from an arranged marriage and her abusive husband in Istanbul to her parents who live in Berlin, the place of her memories. Against the canon of Turkish-German films, Umay's return journey is not from Germany to Turkey, but instead from Turkey to Germany. Although the host culture is no longer foreign to Umay, her parents show no understanding for her situation. As Umay's Turkish employer says to her, "If the choice comes between you and the community, they *will not choose you*." But Umay did not know at that time that cultural memory, and related codes, were stronger than affects and familiar bonds in this social and ethnic framework. She goes for help to the women's shelter with her son, finds a job and starts a relationship with a German workmate. The protagonist's decision "stained" the honour of the family, which can only be restored with the death of the "dishonourable" person. But, accidentally, it is her son who is killed by Umay's brother.

The tragedy has a universality that goes beyond this story of Turkish-German immigrants. It is a narrative of self-determination, resilience and of breaking down the walls of intolerance. Not surprisingly, the film has been compared to Theodor Fontane's novel *Effi Briest*, screened by Rainer Werner Fassbinder in the seventies (Buss, 2010). The film *When we leave* delves, as the late nineteenth-century German novel, into the world of patriarchal oppression, of the absurd code of honour killing and moral orthodoxy. But unlike Fontane's heroine, Umay would survive.

Although *When we leave* still stages the persistence of the stereotype of the "victimized Turkish German woman" (Berghahn, 2012: 21), unlike other feature films by male filmmakers, the female character does not depend on men to be saved from patriarchal oppression. And it is precisely this strategy that discloses the female authorship of the storyline. In Feo Aladag's and Buket Alakus' fictional narratives, the protagonists are no longer mute figures in need of protection or condemnation, like those who inhabited the cinema of duty of the first decades. The places where these characters move around

may also be a sign of a female approach to the reality enacted. Initially bound to memories that are no longer theirs, Anam and Umay no longer inhabit the claustrophobic space of the first decades of the Turkish-German cinema and no longer see the world just through the window of a gloomy room as happens in films such as Tevfik Baser's *Forty Square Meters of Germany*.^[4] As regards Anam, the loss of the headscarf and her learning how to drive are part of that individualization process the female authorship of the script assigned to her. As for Umay, her claiming of a voluntary amnesia is more dramatic: when her family decides to send her back to Turkey to rebuild her marriage and thus restore her family's honour, Umay tears the passport apart and defines in her own terms her relationship to the place she inhabits or where she moves around. In my view, the trip along the shore that Anam makes with her workmates and Umay's motorbike trip with her German boyfriend hold the same symbolic value: the enactment of an emotional freedom materialized in that experience of the physical space.

Paraphrasing Wolfgang Iser, in *Anam* and *As we leave* both female characters are able "to transcend the narrowness of traditional, monocultural ideas and constraints, thereby developing an increasing understanding of themselves" (6). I recall here the words of Buket Alakus (2003), the creator of *Anam*: "...in the film, the leading character Anam finds her own identity in the course of searching for her son." Here again, inter-generational memory transmission is also at the core of the dramatic conflict – it is no coincidence that both characters are mothers who fight, against all odds, for their sons. Anam is able to save her drug-addicted son and to regain his love and thereby her self-confidence. The reconciliation words between mother and son, which make up the last narrative sequence, are spoken without any arbitrariness by her son, who uses the Turkish language without fear or prejudice. I do not think this sequence represents a homecoming; it is rather reconciliation with a horizon of memories which both mother and son had entered into conflict with and are now willing to negotiate.

The film *Anam* seeks undoubtedly to transcend the Other's cultural and ethnic differences, thus underscoring commonalities that cut across boundaries. The protagonist's co-workers embody well this goal by sharing Anam's concerns, dreams and nightmares: Didi, a caring, African mother, who dreams of being a singer, and Rita, still single, and despite her age, still waiting for the ideal man. Her blond hair, short skirt and fake tiger fur jacket contrast with Anam's sober coat and headscarf.

4 On Politics of Space see Mennel, 2010.

Yet their friendship and solidarity bonds are never jeopardized. The same inter-ethnic solidarity is present in *When we leave* in Umay's friendship with her co-worker, the director of the institution that accommodates her. Yet, here the process of translating experiences and memories is much slower and denser. In some characters, such as Umay's relatives, it ends up being a tragic impossibility or a work in progress.

In fact, the new generation of filmmakers seeks to avoid the traditional binary or dualistic oppositions by operating with transcultural characters and storylines. Even when they seem to renew old stereotypes, like the violent Turkish Muslim men, it is due to the fact that they are trapped in memories and beliefs, which they cannot obliterate. In *When we leave*, the protagonist's father and, to a certain extent, the other members of the Turkish community in Berlin, represent precisely this tragic impossibility of letting go of the past. When Umay's father acknowledges the situation his daughter finds herself in and the dishonour that fell upon their family, not to mention the inner conflict between affects and code of honour tormenting him, he travels to Turkey to seek advice from the family's elder member, the memories keeper, who apparently tells him to be intransigent. I say "apparently" because everything unfolds in a heavy silence without words being exchanged, except for glances.

Back in Berlin, at the hospital, when Umay's father foresees the end of his life, he apologizes to his daughter. Shot composition and the camera's movement play here a crucial role in exposing the characters' facial expressions and the emotions they disclose and stimulate. Scenes shot in extreme close-ups and focussing on the characters' faces contain several eliciting conditions of emotional contagion. Carl Plantinga (1999: 239-255) names this strategy "scene of empathy" – which in turn may deepen the dramatic conflict and "the viewer's cognitive appraisal of the situation and her/his corresponding engagement with the characters' experience." This empathetic identification is crucial when different cultures are on the screen: it may open up the narrative to a broader audience since, as Paul Ekman argues, the facial expression and interpretation of basic emotions and feelings like joy, sadness or fear, to name just a few, are not necessarily culture-specific (316).^[5] A previous situation, equally dramatic, takes place when Umay's brother throws her out of their younger sister's wedding by pushing her onto the floor. The lengthy shot of the male face enables the filmmaker

5 Nevertheless we cannot underestimate the effects of culture and social contexts on the regulation and expression of emotions. On this issue, see Ronald de Sousa's concept of "paradigm scenarios" (1987: 181-4).

to reveal the paradox Umay's brother is going through in that moment. His gestures do not seem to match the expression on his face. Following David MacDougall's argument on the "transcultural qualities of visual images", one may conclude that those qualities contribute to decoding the body expression of emotions by distinct communities and subsequently to the viewer's emotional arousal (Macdougall, 1998: 261). By emotions I am no longer evoking the Cartesian legacy but instead recent conclusions from the cognitive sciences, "which describe emotion as a combination of feelings, physiological changes, and cognition" (Smith, 1999: 3). The same perspective underlies the concept of "empathy" as put forward by Carl Plantinga, which supports the argumentation here presented. "Empathy consists of a capacity or disposition to know, to feel, and to respond congruently to what another is feeling, and the process of doing so." Plantinga describes empathy as consisting of "both cognitive and feeling components, some based on involuntary responses stemming from emotional contagion and affective mimicry" (247). I would say that it is precisely through the universalization of the experiences staged that cultural boundaries dissolve in these filmic narratives, thus eliciting from the viewer an empathetic relationship.

Lastly, allow me a brief reflection on the film scores of both *Anam* and *When we leave*. According to Noël Carroll, "Music in film helps to characterize the people, places, and actions depicted within the *diegesis* it accompanies, by adding semiotic specificity to their representation". (Smith, 1999: 21- 47) Music helps to clarify a particular mood, to convey a character's emotions and to ensure the viewers' emotional engagement. It is employed to "double" or to "echo" a specific historical and cultural setting or, on the contrary, it can be as neutral as possible, representing nothing so much as pure emotion. Both Buket Alakus and Feo Aladag intensely explore the semiotic functions of diegetic and non-diegetic music. In Buket Alakus' film the soundtrack is eclectic, expressive and of clear, identifiable origins. Inside the diegetic space of the film different musical genres are heard or even sung, but never as the sound of a specific character or community. The female characters sing and dance to the sounds of flamenco, Indian or Caribbean music in colourful clothing.

Feo Aladag's strategies are in this regard completely different. The joyful tones of Buket's film give place to a melancholic even elegiac sound, one that is clearly trans-historical and transcultural. But above all silence is the main mood-setting. As David Gramling (4) also highlights, Feo Aladag's preference for silence allows viewers to fill in the gaps created by a restrained verbal communication. Diegetic music is scarce: characters only listen to

music once – ethnic music – during a wedding, whose atmosphere was far from being one of happiness. Indeed, restrained violence or restrained emotions define the ceremony's atmosphere. Feo Aladag's camera chooses to observe rather than to narrate verbally and its slow movements allow the viewer to reflect on what is happening on the screen.

The new generation of women filmmakers with migrant backgrounds or those familiar to a migration environment seeks to dismantle stereotypical perceptions of ethnic, national or religious identity by constructing new transcultural solidarities and empathies, that is, by looking beyond cultural borders and thereby “enacting small-scale resistances against status quo” (Bal, 2011: 9). As Astrid Erll points out, “the global circulation of mnemonic media such as movies may indeed effect a change of perspective in viewers from other parts of the world, lead to empathy and trans-ethnic solidarity and lastly to the consolidation of the so-called transcultural memory, that is, the translocal, transnational, and global circulation of mnemonic contents, media, practices” (61). This is, in my point of view, one of the ways we can read both *Anam My Mother* and *When We Leave* – as negotiation of memories in transcultural settings.

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DUBAI.

FROM AUDACITY TO FELICITY?^[1]

Elizabeth Russell

0. INTRODUCTION

The city of Dubai is one of the United Arab Emirates and perhaps the most transcultural business and commercial hub in the world. With a population of around 2.2 million residents, only 10% are national Emiratis whereas all the other temporary citizens are expatriates from 80 different countries.^[2] In addition, Dubai receives around 1 million visitors who enter and leave the city on a daily basis, either on business trips or tourism. Clearly, the city is one of the most fascinating and challenging areas for social and cultural research. How, for example, are cultural and transcultural identity issues represented in Dubai? Of equal importance, how do the Emiratis manage to negotiate their shared Arab heritage whilst being a minority group in their own country? Finally, how do all Dubai residents live side by side in a land where the civil laws are established by one single family and where the laws of Sharia control their public and private lives?

In order to introduce these debates, I have chosen a quote from Leonie Sandercock's *Cosmopolis II. Mongrel Cities in the 21st Century* (2003). She, in turn, adopted the quote from Salman Rushdie's *Imaginary Homelands* (1992), where he refers to his novel *The Satanic Verses* (1988) in the following words:

1 This research was enabled by the funding of an R&D project, financed by the Spanish National Plan for Research, Development and Innovation: COSMOPOLIS FF12010-17296.

2 <http://www.bq-magazine.com/economy/socioeconomics/2015/04/uae-population-by-nationality> Accessed 13.04.2016. Statistics of 2015. Accessed 14.04.2016.

[H]ybridity, impurity, intermingling, the transformation that comes of new and unexpected combinations of human beings, cultures, ideas, politics, movies, songs. (...) Melange, hotchpotch, a bit of this and a bit of that is how newness enters the world. It is the great possibility that mass migration gives the world. (...) it is a love song to our *mongrel* selves. [Emphasis added]

Dubai falls short of this mongrelisation because it maintains a certain separation of various communities within the city; they may not be strict “gated communities” but perhaps an “open city-state of relatively gated communities” as will be explained further on.^[3]

1. THE DIALECTIC BETWEEN CITIES AND INDIVIDUALS

Anthony Vidler, Elizabeth Grosz, Lucy Sargisson and Leonie Sandercock are four theorists who have done much to bring utopia and architecture together. Although they speak from different disciplines – Vidler as an architectural historian, Grosz as a feminist philosopher, Sargisson as a specialist in utopian studies and politics and Sandercock as an urban planner, their common aim is to see how utopianism can help to bring about an alternative politics. Vidler defines his approach to architecture as being “perverse” because, rather than starting off from the eyes of the perceiving subject (which *objectifies* architecture), he positions himself from the perspective of the (perceiving) object. The buildings thus take up a subject position and this means that their architecture itself comes under the scrutiny of psychoanalysis. By altering the subject/object relationship, Vidler suggests that architecture can take on an active role in framing anxiety and shaping desire.^[4] Elizabeth Grosz, on the other hand, adopts a utopian stance in reference to time, space and the body. Her work attempts to bring together architecture and philosophy by creating a third space, that of the embodied utopia, which allows the interaction of inside/outside without hierarchies and is to be understood as being beyond Western traditions of time and space. Her approach is postmodernist and feminist: feminist, because she critiques the phallocentrism of architecture in which identity is constructed by othering and excluding; and postmodernist, because she

3 See James Barnes, <http://www.e-ir.info/2013/10/16/bedouin-hospitality-in-the-neo-global-city-of-dubai/>. Accessed 07.04.2016.

4 Vidler, A. (1992) p. ix-xv.

insists that the ideals of architecture, urban planning and embodied space should be linked to a “process of endless questioning”.^[5]

In a sense, Grosz’s strategy can be compared to Vidler’s when she defines urban planning by what it excludes or objects. In addition, she takes sides with Alphonso Lingis’ concept of community as one which is open to the outsider, the lost, the stranger, the marginalized and the outcast.^[6] This change of perspective is, perhaps, the main difference in architecture and urban planning of the period of modernism and the period of postmodernism.

To give an example of how Vidler’s “perverse” perspective might work, the Burj would take on a subject position as it overlooks the city and pierces the sky. Once called the Burj Dubai, now the Burj Khalifa, it claims to be the tallest standing building in the world and it has a story to tell. Not the story of how it was built but a narrative “selfie” celebrating itself as subject and claiming itself to be the main reference of the city. Inside the Burj on the ground floor, there used to be a large marble plaque with the following text on it:

I am the power that lifts the world’s head proudly skywards, surpassing limits and expectations.

Rising gracefully from the desert and honouring the city with a new glow, I am an extraordinary union of engineering and art, with every detail carefully considered and beautifully crafted.

I am the life force of collective aspirations and the aesthetic union of many cultures. I stimulate dreams, stir emotions and awaken creativity.

I am the magnet that attracts the wide-eyed tourist, eagerly catching their post-card moment, the centre for the world’s finest shopping, dining and entertainment and home for the world’s elite.

I am the heart of the city and its people; the marker that defines Emaar’s ambition and Dubai’s shining dream.

More than just a moment in time, *I define moments* for future generations.

I am Burj Dubai. [Emphasis added]

When I first saw these words on the plaque in Dubai in 2007, I immediately thought of S.T. Coleridge’s poem “Kubla Khan”, written in the Romantic period in English literature. The poem tells how the mighty emperor built his “pleasure dome”, a dome in the air, in Xanadu.

5 Grosz, E. (2001) p. 150.

6 Lingis, A. (1994).

Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria* defines the Romantic Imagination as the Great I Am – a direct reference to Exodus in the bible, “I AM THAT I AM”. The words on the marble plaque speak of the personification of the Burj who has become a Cartesian subject who “surpasses limits and expectations” – a kind of Nietzschean *Übermensch* who is aware of his magnetism, and power to define, not only the present but the future.^[7] The plaque was removed after the economic crisis in 2008, which also hit Dubai, but was later replaced with a different text when the building was renamed the Burj Khalifa. The previous phallogocentric subject position of the Burj in the old text has been lost and substituted by a new text in reference to the United Arab Emirates which managed to pull the city out of bankruptcy: “The word impossible is not in the leaders’ dictionaries. No matter how big the challenges, strong faith, determination and resolve will overcome them.” Curiously, both texts are anonymous and there seems to be no author claiming them. It is possible however, that the ruler of Dubai, Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid al Maktoum was the author who penned the texts. He has published books of poetry which have appeared in Arabic and English and are readily available. His poems, which are of the popular Nabati poetic tradition of the Gulf States, celebrate the Emirati people and record their national achievements. They speak of Bedouin lifestyles in the desert, of emotional bonds, of hunting and boasting and most especially of past hardships. Some of his poems take on a didactic nature, where the narrator asks the young Emiratis to be conscious of the hardships their forefathers went through to be able to give them the comfort and security they can now enjoy:

Young people, you’re indulged by a season of security
and plenty with no experience of the hardship and
weariness we endured.
Take it from us, for we have been there,
it’s only with hard work and effort you’ll ever build tall.^[8]

7 In the text of the marble plaque there is a reference to “EMAAR”, the name of the Real Estate Development, which designed and built the Burj.

8 Taken from the poem “Determination of Youth”. Mohammed bin Rashid al Maktoum (2014) *Flashes of Verse*. Dubai: Explorer Publishing & Distribution. p. 50.

2. DUBAI'S MONGRELISATION

In the year 1971, Dubai joined the United Arab Emirates after having been a British Protectorate for almost 80 years. On independence, its leaders decided that it should become a world centre for finance and pleasure, catering especially for affluent Westerners. There are certain factors about the population which make Dubai unlike any other country. First, it seems to be the only country where the nationals – the Emiratis – constitute a minority in their own home. They are “strangers in their own land” as Syed Ali describes them.^[9] The nationals have little say in how the country is organised as each of the United Arab Emirates is ruled by a family of Sheikhs. The national Emiratis, on the one hand, are passive observers of present-day Dubai but on the other, they do receive certain benefits in education, health and housing. Second, there are 3 men for every woman in the country. This imbalance in the sex ratio is due to the immigration of male construction workers (largely Asian) who leave their families in their home countries to earn money in Dubai. Third, other immigrants (expatriates) enter the country on a three-year residence permit. Although these permits can be renewed, it is practically impossible to obtain national citizenship and live in Dubai permanently. At retirement age, the residence permit simply expires. Dubai is therefore an in-transit utopia with relevant identity problems.

Migrants do not cast aside their memories when taking up residence in a new country. Memory is an essential part of our identity. It not only defines who we are but also locates us as part of a family, a national heritage, a style of architecture, our “home”. Taking up residence elsewhere can make us feel at home or experience fear based on a sense of “unbelonging”. “Whether or not we are one of those people who likes to “dwell on the past”, the past dwells in us and gives us our sense of continuity, anchoring us even as we move on” (Sandercock, 2003: 222). In the same way as our home becomes a place we fill with memories and memorabilia, the walls of all homes have a memory of their inhabitants. If walls could speak! Each home has a story to tell, each city is a repository of memory. Our museums, graveyards, monuments, city archives and libraries, churches, cooperatives, streets and parks – all have stories to tell. These are the “love songs and storylines” – narratives of people and places – that we have to listen to and which are becoming increasingly more important in academic disciplines.

9 Ali, S. (2010) p. 164.

We tell each other stories in order to negotiate and construct our identities. Simultaneously, the surface levels and subterranean underworlds of cities have their own stories to tell. Both levels work together to negotiate the city's subjectivity in process. As Sandercock explains, "Story and story telling are at work in conflict resolution, in policy and data analysis, in transportation planning, and so on" (*idem*, 182). In short, stories give a voice to those whose voices have gone unheard in the past, and to those who wish to give voice to denounce past atrocities. Here, Sandercock refers to the *Sorry Books* placed in Australian libraries which offer a space for citizens who wished to write stories of apology and atonement for the atrocities and disposessions committed against the Aboriginal peoples (*idem*, 191).

What would be the corresponding stories in the city of Dubai? The Burj represents the city's story of success, from the days when its ancestors experienced hardships and dangerous living through pearl diving to days of the oil booms which gave the city the possibility to become what it is today. Dubai's places of historical memory are not totally lost, but they are often difficult to recognise: the Qur'an is recited from the mosques calling the faithful to prayer, the desert has been exiled into the outskirts of Dubai and is now the scene of daredevil driving on the dunes, the harbour has become popular with the tourists as have the souks with the smell of spices and incense. As regards the Emirati people's historical memory, it has practically been wiped out. Their forefathers were Bedouins – Nomads – crossing the deserts, pitching their tents, and engaging in commercial transactions with distant communities. The Bedouins were famous for their hospitality, one of their most prized characteristics.^[10] These historical factors – their nomadic lifestyle and their hospitality – may have inspired the present-day Emiratis to open up their city as an "in-transit utopia", a place where citizens are invited to come as guests but not invited to settle down and belong. Dubai is not a place for growing roots and interacting with other cultures, especially the cultures of the Emirati nationals. There are many different cultures among the Expats but the population has been divided into metaphorical "gated communities" in the words of Masad where residential parks with rows and rows of beautifully-built houses actually do have gates and gatekeepers.^[11]

Geographically speaking, the modern city of Dubai seems to have relinquished its roots in many audacious ways. It has covered its natural

10 "Dubai: What Cosmopolitan City?" quoted in <http://www.e-ir.info/2013/10/16/bedouin-hospitality-in-the-neo-global-city-of-dubai/>. Accessed 07.04.2015.

11 The term comes from M. Masad (2008) <http://www.e-ir.info/2013/10/16/bedouin-hospitality-in-the-neo-global-city-of-dubai/>. Accessed 07.04.2015.

desert landscape with cement and asphalt to hold together the buildings and motorways. It has planted trees and gardens in the city and built huge fountains, artificial islands and shopping malls in spite of the fact that there is no sweet ground water available. The temperatures outside may rise above 50 degrees centigrade but for those who want to get away from the heat and experience temperatures below zero, they can don an anorak, gloves and boots and ski on the indoor slope in one of the shopping malls. This city of desire has become a luxury playground for the rich.^[12] This is possibly the reason why it is a city that “works on a surface” level because it is based on deliberate amnesia and because ethnic identity is not so important an issue as wealth. In a neoliberalist world economy, the categories of identity construction in the past such as religion, ideology, race, gender, take a back role in Dubai to mass-market economies. In other words, all the rich form a community, a gated community, which excludes all others who don’t reach the mark.

Dubai is a place where foreigners are welcome to work but they will not be permitted to stay permanently and no effort will be made to facilitate their integration or their sense of belonging into the minority culture. At the same time, however, if all expatriates (irrespective of their cultures) wish to take advantage of the work opportunities, then it is vital to negotiate how they can live alongside each other. In theory, through the mixing of different cultures and intercultural dialogues, new identities can be forged. In practice, this might not be possible, especially in Dubai. It is here that I wish to introduce Leonie Sandercock’s most interesting premise in her discussion of the “mongrel city” which reveals that:

A sense of belonging in a multicultural society cannot be based on race, religion, or ethnicity but needs to be based on a *shared commitment* to political community. Such a commitment requires an *empowered* citizenry. (Sandercock, 2003: 103) [Emphasis added].

Political commitment, then, and an understanding of what is good for the community: these are the foundations upon which the *mongrel city* should be constructed. It is true that Sandercock is reluctant to admit that “no existing (self-described) multicultural society can yet claim to have achieved this state of affairs” (*idem*, 104-105) and she gives as possible reasons those which are probably rooted in racism. In the case of Dubai,

12 Dubai is a tax-free paradise whose airport welcomes shoppers with the motto “Do Buy!”.

however, I would like to suggest that this particular utopian dream based on mongrelisation is related to protecting the national minority from the international majority. In the business sphere, the Dubai's national Emiratis are decidedly privileged because of a law which states that no foreign business project can be set up without an Emirati partner. This is further guaranteed by the Emirati partner receiving a share in every foreign enterprise which will amount to 51% of the benefits whereas the expatriate receives 49%.

Lucy Sargisson's *Fool's Gold? Utopianism in the Twenty-First Century* dedicates a chapter to Dubai and in it she refers especially to the utopian vision that Sheikh Rashid bin Saeed Al Maktoum wishes to put into practice. Economic growth has indeed been successful although there is concern about environmental problems. The Sheikh wishes to combine the old with the new, to privilege economic growth and to raise the living standards of local workers; to strengthen the local arts and sciences, to invest in education and to protect the Arabic language. Sargisson suggests that there is a utopian vision in all these plans but "utopian" in the ambiguous sense of the word, that is, fantastic – but impossible to put into practice. She writes:

The utopianism of Dubai may be hierarchical but it is also indigenous. It has not been imposed by outside forces (conquering kings, international monetary organizations, banks, or foreign states). This is significant. It transgresses a simple top-down/bottom-up distinction between different forms of utopianism. (Sargisson, 2012: 161)

Her interpretation of this utopian vision shows that the stress is on aspiration rather than on self-criticism. In a sense, this is exactly what the narrative of the first Burj plaque revealed. Although Sargisson's chapter on Dubai is mainly concerned with the narratives of architecture and urban planning, her main approach concerns the "utopianness" of these narratives not only as visionary futures but as they might be put into practice and her final note on such a dream is as follows:

One way of interpreting Dubai is to view it as a space in which several different utopian visions coincide. I suspect that the coincidence of these visions could destroy Dubai. [...] There is a danger involved in offering your country as a space of opportunity: 'create your fantasy here!' This is the danger of annihilation. This form of utopianism could eliminate Dubai *per se* in the pursuit of happiness, wealth and economic growth because in this vision Dubai is simply a blank sheet, an empty space in which dreams can be realized. (*Idem*, 165-166)

3. GUEST WORKERS: THE BLANK SHEET

The guest workers – or migrant workers – in construction are right at the bottom of the social scale and have few possibilities of movement in the city either geographically or socially. In addition, they have no voice, no narratives they can tell and no utopian vision within Dubai. Yet, without them, Dubai could never have become what it is. A website offering jobs in the United Arab Emirates has the same narrative for all job offers, for construction workers to doctors:

United Arab Emirates, Yemen, Saudi Arabia and Omen are Gold mines for Job hunters and job seekers in the Gulf region. For years Indians and Chinese are getting a *handful of Salary* in the Gulf country jobs. Construction worker requirements [emphasis added].^[13]

As mentioned above, Dubai has a male/female population ratio of 3:1. The construction workers, who are mostly from Asia, are driven each morning to their building site and each evening to their segregated accommodation in busloads through the city streets. Articles in the Western media define the guest workers as slaves.^[14] Like many immigrants arriving in wealthy countries they are seduced by the success stories they hear and so sign contracts, leaving their homes and their families, with the hope of saving money to improve their families' social status. The men who are construction workers live in appalling conditions, in small cramped cement buildings or even "containers" with no air-conditioning, no fans and poor sanitation. Sometimes each room has triple bunk beds, sleeping 10 men. Since the recession hit Dubai, many of the guest workers have been stranded there jobless, unable to pay for their flight back home as they haven't been paid by their employers and unable to leave the country because their passports have been taken away from them by their employers. The author of the article "The Dark Side of Dubai" explains that this is all very illegal under the present laws of Dubai; nevertheless, the exploitation continues and is repeatedly denounced by Human Rights Watch. The Indian consulate in Dubai registered 971 deaths (some of which were suicides) of their

13 <http://jobssurf.com/dubaiuae/tag/construction-workers/> The webpage is dated March 30, 2016. Accessed 12.04.2016.

14 <http://www.vice.com/video/the-slaves-of-dubai> Accessed 13.04.2016.
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/10/foreign-workers-in-dubai-pay-protest>
 Accessed 13.04.2016.

nationals in 2005 and have also consistently protested about the inhuman working conditions of their nationals. In the case of women immigrants, the situation is often no better. Working as nannies, maids and cleaning ladies, they are employed by the expats and are sometimes obliged to work in conditions that are considered illegal – but tolerated. There are very few written or recorded narratives of those who are exploited. In video interviews, their voices may be heard but their identities are protected. Syed Ali's book *Dubai. Gilded Cage* gives a depressing insight to the living conditions of the migrant workers in his chapter titled 'Iron Chains'. The book was published in 2010 but the descriptions and content of this chapter have not changed. Divided into subsections, the chapter discusses the fates of the male construction workers and child camel jockeys, female maids, nannies and prostitutes, thereby introducing the subject of human trafficking. Again, the Emirati legal system has tried to crack down on trafficking, pimping and child camel jockeys by tightening up their laws and, according to Ali, in 2006, over 4,300 prostitutes were deported from Dubai. Other sources claim that the number of prostitutes in Dubai was at least 10,000 in 2005. Inevitably the figure has increased today. (Ali, 2010: 101)

In the final pages of his book, Syed Ali warns that "[t]he story of Dubai's expatriate population may end up being replicated beyond Dubai and the Arabian Gulf countries" (*idem*, 192) and indeed, this seems to be the case as some countries have already begun to devise various categories in their entrance visas for workers and professionals, from those who are highly skilled to those who become part of the "expanding disenfranchised workforce" (*idem*, 193).

4. SONGLINES. A LANGUAGE OF COMMUNICATION

The imagination of many urban planners in the past has produced sets of emotional binary oppositions in their visions of cities. Underlying these visionary cities there may exist unconscious emotions such as fear, hatred and a disgust of all that flows, sprawls and spreads. This fear is what Julia Kristeva defines as the abject: "what disturbs identity, system, order. What does not respect borders, positions, rules. The in-between, the ambiguous, the composite" (Kristeva, 1982: 4). Like disease, the transgression of boundaries has the risk of contaminating the self-controlled static and solid centre. Such is the Burj, the phallic centre of Dubai and the abject the slums and wastelands where the dispossessed live. Sandercock proposes a

new language of communication between the citizen and the city called Songlines. Each city has stories to tell. Each citizen also has stories to tell. Listening to each other's stories is a necessary part of this exchange of identities. And in this dialectic, one has to be aware of emotions that include or exclude / that comfort or reject / that produce fear or happiness.

Sandercock's (utopian vision) of the mongrel city is based on five different qualities: the political, the therapeutic, the audacious, the creative and the critical. The political quality brings city planners into contact with the legal and governmental authorities, the citizens and the building professionals. This becomes an open debate as to what kind of city is desirable and possible. The therapeutic quality brings to the surface the emotional problems in the city and these should take on a major role in urban planning. How to deal with conflict situations, disempowered citizens, the abandoned and the homeless? The audacious quality has to do with freedom of expression, daring to break rules and take risks; asking the citizens what kind of city they desire, especially those citizens who feel they are being discriminated because of their differences from the majority. The creative quality applies Edward de Bono's techniques in "Lateral Thinking". Imagine the city at different times of the day and night and in different seasons of the year. How can city art and fantasy be used to make the city attractive? The fifth and last of the qualities is to maintain a critical awareness of power strategies in the city: how does power include/exclude different peoples and how can citizens who have never been included in decision-making become empowered? In short, Sandercock's categories offer instructions on how to take part in the city's being and becoming.

5. EMOTIONAL INVOLVEMENT IN THE CITY

Sarah Ahmed's *The Cultural Politics of Emotions* (2004) begins by explaining that emotions move (from Latin *emovere*). The general belief is that they move from inside to outside in the individual. This, she affirms, would be the subject matter of psychology. For example, if I feel anxious and afraid, my heart will race and my body will be tense. I might express this inside feeling in many different ways to other people: by crying, shouting or being silent. The expression of my feelings may create empathy or alienation. Psychology would treat these fears principally by subjecting me to an analysis to find the origin of my emotion in an experience I perhaps had in my childhood or imagined I had. Sarah Ahmed prefers to study emotions

moving socially rather than individually. She suggests that emotions are also created socially, outside, and they hold individuals together by binding them into social groups. These groups are in no way fixed. The emotions move from one body to another and actively create the surfaces and boundaries of that body – and by extension, of the whole group. In the case of Dubai, each social group is not totally separated from other groups: there is some overlapping but there are also boundaries between what is – and what is not acceptable. It is the transgression of these boundaries that upsets the status quo. The city's built spaces impress on the individuals different emotions and narrate stories to them. The continuous surveillance of the government authorities constructs spaces of containment and spaces of mobility at the same time.

If we can all listen to each other's stories, each story will change us. However, we must be aware also of how negative or discriminatory discourses have the power to develop and influence us. Words can “stick together” and form a discourse describing cultures, ethnic groups in a very negative manner. City narratives can occupy the space of fear, disgust and contempt.^[15] I would like to end this article by telling an anecdote. When I began my research on Dubai, Amazon.co.uk caught on to my interest immediately and began to send me titles I might be interested in. Although my interests were more of an academic nature, I received a list of books which gave me a completely different perspective of Dubai. The words that “stick together” in the description of the novels are: glitzy, shimmering, sexy, sham, superlative, sketchy. The book titles were: *Sheiks, Lies & Real Estates*. / *The Untold Story of Dubai*. / *Desperate in Dubai*. / *Love Me in Dubai*. / *Escape From Dubai*. / *The Prince's Wife*. As the book cover narratives and reviews are important, a selection of them follows below:

- A fairytale world of wealth and excess, cowboys and crooks, and hookahs and hookers.
- A story that will make your hair stand on end. From a life of luxury in opulent Dubai to ruination.
- Oozing with men, money, and Maseratis, Dubai is the ultimate playground for the woman who knows her Louboutins from her Louis Vuittons.
- “Dubai Wives” takes the reader into the hidden world behind the walls of lavish mansions and into the back alleys of Dubai.

15 Sara Ahmed discusses how words that stick together form a discourse which can become very influential to the point of incitement to passion, nationalisms, violence and discrimination.

Popular novels offer a fascinating wealth of information for research work in cultural studies. These novels should not be excluded in the songlines for indeed, they give us a first-hand impression of what Dubai's message is to the many who flock there in order to seek their own millenium dream. Whatever that is.

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